

## TWO KINDS OF SUBJECT *pro*

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### 1. Introduction

Holmberg 2005 observes that the classical view of subject *pro* according to which *pro* is an inherently unspecified nominal (Rizzi 1982, Chomsky 1981) whose features are supplied by Agr can no longer be maintained in a theory that makes a distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable features such as Chomsky's 1995 and subsequent work. Since, by definition, the  $\phi$ -features in T are uninterpretable, it is not possible for the unspecified pronoun to be specified by the  $\phi$ -features in T. It is against this background that Holmberg sets out to evaluate the following two hypothesis regarding the status of null subjects against data from Finnish, a partial *pro*-drop language:

- *Hypothesis A*

The set of  $\phi$ -features in T (Agr) is interpretable in Null-Subject Languages (NSLs), and *pro* is therefore redundant; Agr is a referential, definite pronoun, albeit a pronoun phonologically expressed as an affix. As such, Agr is also assigned a subject theta-role, possibly by virtue of heading a chain whose foot is in vP, receiving the relevant theta-role.

- *Hypothesis B*

The null subject is specified for interpretable  $\phi$ -features, values the uninterpretable features in Agr, and moves to Spec,IP, just like any other subject. This implies that the nullness is a phonological matter: the null subject is a pronoun that is not pronounced.

Holmberg argues that Finnish supports Hypothesis B and proposes a typology of null subjects: null bound pronouns and null generic pronouns in partial *pro*-drop languages such as Finnish are D-less- $\phi$ iPs, and so are null subjects in consistent NSLs with Agr, such as Spanish or Greek; another type of null subject is a DP that is deleted under the usual conditions of recoverability (1st and 2ndp null subjects in Finnish); null pronouns in languages without Agr, such as Chinese and Japanese, are the only true instances of *pro*, a minimally specified noun. The difference between Finnish and consistent NSLs is that I has a D feature in the latter though not in the former.

In this paper, I will argue that a version of hypothesis A is superior to hypothesis B for consistent NSLs of the rich agreement type. I will present evidence that reinforces

previous proposals (Barbosa 1995, 2000, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Pollock 1997, Kato 1999) according to which there is no EPP feature driven XP movement to Spec-TP in consistent NSLs. I will focus on European Portuguese (EP), a consistent NSL, and I will show that its grammar differs in important ways from that of a closely related partial *pro*-drop language such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP). In the former case, argumental subjects (overt or null) are not subject to A-movement to pre-verbal position and remain *in situ*; apparent pre-verbal subjects are actually left-dislocated or A-bar moved to pre-verbal position. This yields the well-known property of “free inversion” associated with the NSLs with rich agreement morphology, which is lacking in French/English or modern spoken BP. In BP overt subjects raise to Spec-TP. A close inspection of the relevant cluster of properties subject to ongoing change in modern spoken BP indicates that they are closely connected to impoverished verbal agreement morphology. In line with a long tradition of research on the topic, I will attribute the absence of EPP feature driven XP movement to Spec-TP to properties of “rich” agreement morphology, and I will develop an analysis of this phenomenon within the *Agree* based framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2005), Pesetsky and Torrego 2004a,b and Roberts 2006. In this analysis, the null subject is the outcome of the process of chain-reduction (Nunes 1995, 2004) affecting a defective pronominal category, so, in a way, the results of this paper are in conformity with Holmberg’s conjecture that *pro* as a minimally specified nominal can be dispensed with, at least in consistent NSLs.

As will be clear, this analysis doesn’t apply to partial *pro*-drop, so a major result of this paper is that the null subject in consistent NSLs is of a different kind from that found in BP and Finnish.

## **2. Cluster of properties associated with the Null Subject Property in consistent NSLs**

### *2.1. Introduction*

Many NSLs of the rich agreement type have been shown to display the following cluster of properties (Rizzi 1982, Jaeggli 1984, Burzio 1986, Kenstowicz 1987):

- a. phonologically null subjects;

- b. SV, VS order alternations (so-called “free-inversion);
- c. lack of *that*-trace effects: extraction is from post-verbal position.

Property (b) is illustrated by the Portuguese sentences (1a,b):

- (1) a. O João telefonou.  
           the João called
- b. Telefonou o João.  
           called the João  
           ‘John called’

The following contrasts between English and Spanish illustrate property (c):

- (2) \*Who did you say that bought a computer?
- (3) Quién dices que compró un ordenador? [Spanish]  
       who say-2sg that bought a computer  
       ‘Who do you say bought a computer?’

The lack of *that*-trace effects exhibited in (3) generalizes to all of the Romance NSLs. Rizzi 1982 and Jaeggli 1984 pursue an account of this contrast based on the claim that the subject in the NSLs is extracted not from the pre-verbal position but rather from post-verbal position. Burzio (1986: 165), however, notes that a stronger statement is needed: it is not simply the case that subjects in Italian *can* be extracted from post-verbal position; in fact, they *must*. Consider the following Italian sentences:

- (4) a. \*(Ne<sub>1</sub>)sono cadute [tre — 1]  
           NE are fallen three
- b. Tre (\*ne) sono cadute.  
           ‘Three of them have fallen’
- (5) Quante —<sub>1</sub> \*(ne<sub>1</sub>) sono cadute?  
       how many NE are fallen  
       ‘How many of them have fallen?’

(4b) shows that *ne*-cliticization is not compatible with a pre-verbal subject in Italian. The fact that only the inverted form (4a) has a *Wh*-moved counterpart (cf. (5)) indicates that the subject *can’t be* extracted from pre-verbal position. Campos 1997 reaches the same

conclusion on the basis of data from Spanish. These findings raise the non-trivial question why this peculiar property should cluster together with the Null Subject property.

Yet another feature that is associated with property (b) above is that pre-verbal subjects tend to be topics whereas post-verbal subjects tend to be *foci*. This observation has been made by a number of different authors for all of the Romance NSLs<sup>1</sup>. The correlation between subject position and discourse can be clearly detected in EP in questions about the subject:

(6) a. Quem comeu a sopa?

Who ate the soup?

b. Comeu o João.

ate the John

‘John did.’

c. # O João comeu.

the John ate

(6b), with a post-verbal subject, is the natural way to answer (6a); (6c) is not appropriate in this context. In this respect, the NSLs behave differently from French or English, where SV order can be naturally used in answers to questions about the subject.

## 2.2 Holmberg’s Hypothesis A

Since the mid-nineties there has been a growing body of work (Barbosa 1995, Pollock 1997, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Kato 1999, Manzini and Savoia 2002, Platzack 2004, among others) making the claim that, in consistent NSLs of the rich agreement type, morphological verbal agreement is “(pro)nominal” in the sense that it has a D/N feature capable of checking the EPP via V raising to T. The particular implementations of this proposal vary, but the basic idea is that morphological verbal agreement is affix-like, thus behaving like a pronominal clitic. As a consequence of this, the EPP is not checked by

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<sup>1</sup> For Italian, see Calabrese 1990, Saccon 1993, Pinto 1994, Grimshaw & Samek-Ludovici 1998, Cardinaletti 1998; for Spanish, Contreras 1991, Zubizarreta 1998, Ordonez 1997; for Catalan, Vallduví 1992, Sola 1992; for Romanian, Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; for Portuguese, Ambar 1988, Martins 1994, I. Duarte 1997, Costa 1998.

Merge/Move XP; in other words, there is no A-movement of subjects to pre-verbal position and the thematic position for the subject is to the right of raised V.

When the subject is a fully specified nominal, this yields a post-verbal subject construction given that v/V raises to T (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990). Thus, the Portuguese example (7a) is analysed as in (7b):

- (7) a. Telefonou a Maria  
called the Maria  
b. [ [T telefonou<sub>i</sub> ] [vP a Maria t<sub>i</sub> ] ]

Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou 2006 discuss evidence regarding condition C effects which indicates that the post-verbal subject in VS constructions is indeed occupying a low position (the “in situ” position inside v/VP) in Greek as well as in all of the Romance NSLs including Italian. Costa 1998 argued that the post-verbal subject is inside v/VP in Portuguese both in VSO and VOS orders and similar claims have been made for Spanish (Ordonez 1997, 1998), Italian (Cardinaletti 1998) and Greek (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001).

When the subject is silent, the configuration is the following (here I use indices for ease of exposition):

- (8) a. Telefonaram  
(they) called  
b. [ [T [telefonar-**am** <sub>i</sub> ] [vP [ **ec**<sub>i</sub> ] ] ]

For the present, I will remain neutral as to the status of the *ec* in argument position in (8). What matters really is that, under this hypothesis, the silent argument doesn't raise to pre-verbal position. Thus, expletive *pro* doesn't exist and argumental *pro* has the same status as empty categories associated with clitics in general. For ease of exposition, I will refer to the *ec* in (8b) as *pro*. I will return to this issue in section 5.

In this approach, apparent SVO constructions are instantiations of independently attested mechanisms of argument fronting, namely Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) or A-bar extraction.

CLLD is illustrated below:

- (9) a. Esse livro comprei-o ontem.

that book bought-1sg-it yesterday

b. Pierre il aime la musique.

(9a) illustrates the case of a CLLDed object. The DP *esse livro* is doubled by the pronominal accusative clitic. (9b) illustrates a case of subject CLLD: the DP *Pierre* is doubled by the subject clitic. I assume the traditional analysis of CLLD according to which CLLDed topics are base-generated in place and are licensed by rules of predication (Chomsky 1977). Now, the counterpart to (9b) in a NSL is (10) with doubling by silent *pro* linked to the (clitic-like) set of features in T:

(10) *Subject CLLD*: [[ DP<sub>i</sub> ] [FP V [ *pro*<sub>i</sub> ]]

(11a) below is thus analyzed as in (11b):

(11) a. O João telefonou.

the J. called-3sg

b. [[O João ]<sub>i</sub> [FP telefonou *pro*<sub>i</sub>]]

In (11) the DP *o João* is licensed by ‘rules of predication’, in the sense of Chomsky 1977. The clausal projection contains an ‘open’ position (*pro*, a pronominal category without independent reference) satisfied by the entity referred to by the dislocated DP. In (11b) the CLLDed DP is adjoined to the root, so I’ve used the neutral label FP to denote whatever projection root clauses turn out to be (TP, CP or FinP (Rizzi 1997)). CLLDed constituents may precede *wh*-phrases, but occur to the right of complementizers in embedded clauses, so I assume that they adjoin to (at least) root CP and TP, depending on independently required well-formedness conditions (see section 3 below).

Another mechanism of argument fronting found in the Romance NSLs is direct movement to an A-bar position in front of the clause (Martins 1994, Uriagereka 1995 Raposo 1994, 1997, Zubizarreta 1998). This kind of movement is illustrated below for European Portuguese:

(12) Algo<sub>i</sub> lhe disseram t<sub>i</sub>, mas não sei o quê.

something to-him they-said t but not I- know the what

‘They must have told him something, but I don’t know what’

(12) contains a non-referential quantified phrase. When fronted, this kind of expression must be associated with a gap. As is well known, non-referring quantified phrases cannot be dislocated. This fact is illustrated below:

(13) a. \*Algo<sub>i</sub> lho<sub>i</sub> disseram, mas não sei o quê.

something to-him+it said, but not I- know what


b. \*Quelq’un il vient.

someone he comes

(13a) is the counterpart to (12) with CLLD, and the French example (13b) makes the same point with a subject. As we will see, the expressions that cannot be dislocated include bare QPs and “affective” operators in the sense of Klima 1964. Under this theory, SV constructions with a non-referring QP as subject in a NSL are unambiguously analysed as involving A-bar extraction directly from post-verbal position. Thus, the EP example below is analysed as in (14).

(14) a. Alguém telefonou.

someone called

b. [<sub>FP</sub> Alguém  [<sub>F'</sub> telefonou [<sub>VP</sub> t ]]

### 2.3 Predictions

The hypothesis just sketched has the advantage of explaining all at once the cluster of properties associated with the Null Subject Property in rich agreement type languages. Property (b) – the SV/VS alternations – follows with no further stipulation and so does property (c) in its strong form. Subject extraction is not from pre-verbal position because this position is not an A-position: A'-movement proceeds from the one and only A-position occupied by the subject, namely the “in-situ” position.

The above mentioned interpretative differences between pre and post-verbal subjects also follow. Recall that the observation was that pre-verbal subjects in the Romance NSLs tend to be topics and post-verbal subjects are *foci*. This proposal captures the topic or theme

interpretation of most pre-verbal subjects *without excluding the possibility that they are not topics*. Thus, when the subject is a non-referring expression (cf. (14)) it is clearly not a topic.

The parallelism between preverbal (referring) “subjects” and topics can be clearly detected in EP in answers to *wh*-questions. Above, we observed that SV order in answer to a question about the subject is deviant (cf. (6c)). Now, exactly the same effect can be found when, in the answer to a question about an object, the latter is CLLDed:

(15) a. O que comeu o João?

‘What did John eat?’

b. #A sopa comeu -a.

‘The soup, he ate it.’

(15b) is just as inappropriate in this context as (6b) above, with a preverbal subject. Under the proposal just sketched, these facts receive a common explanation: a phrase referring to a topic cannot be information focus, as seems natural.

(15b), however, becomes acceptable when the dislocated DP is interpreted as a Contrastive Topic (on the notion *Contrastive Topic*, see Vilkkuna 1995 and the references cited there). Thus, if we add the continuation in (16b) to (15b) the result is fully grammatical:

(16) a. O que comeu o João?

‘What did John eat?’

b. A sopa comeu(-a), mas não sei se comeu o resto.

‘The soup, he ate (it), but I don’t know what else he ate.’

The dialogue in (16) presupposes a set of contextually salient discourse referents relative to which the topic is Main News (Vilkkuna 1995). Now, exactly the same effect can be found with a subject (this observation is originally due to Ambar 1998):

(17) a. Quem comeu sopa?

‘Who ate soup?’

b. O João comeu, mas não sei quem mais o fez.

[Ambar 1998]

‘John did, but I don’t know who else did.’



(17b) is as fine as (16b) and contrasts with (6b) above. Thus, there is a striking parallelism between pre-verbal subjects and CLLDed objects in this particular context, as predicted by the hypothesis sketched.

Under this approach, the fact that post-verbal subjects are interpreted as *foci* (informational or contrastive) derives from their position inside the VP, thus being interpreted as part of the **rheme** (or **nuclear scope**) (Reinhardt 1995, Zubizarreta 1998):

(18) [ <sub>TP</sub> V<sub>i</sub> [ <sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> lexical subject ] -> RHEME



Assuming that material inside the VP gets mapped into the Nuclear Scope (Diesing 1992) then the post-verbal subject will end up in the partition of the clause that corresponds to what is asserted (Partee 1995). This is why such post-verbal subjects tend to be *foci* (information or contrastive *foci*, depending on a number of factors (see Costa 1998, Zubizarreta 1998, Cardinaletti 1998 for a detailed description)).

That the more or less focalized nature of the subject in EP depends on the Theme-Rheme articulation is confirmed by the fact that VSO order sounds more marked in V initial utterances than in utterances containing a Theme/Topic in the pre-verbal field. Thus, (20a), when uttered out of the blue, is awkward, given that it can only be interpreted as indicated in the gloss, with contrastive focus on the subject pronoun; (20b), on the other hand, is fine in an out of the blue context; in fact, the contrastive reading on the pronoun is lost in this case, though the pronoun is still perceived as emphatic:

(20) a. Perdi eu o autocarro.

missed I the bus

‘I was the one who missed the bus’

b. Vê lá. Por causa das pressas, perdi eu o autocarro.

see there because of-the hurry missed I the bus

‘Guess what, because I was in a hurry I missed the bus’

The difference between (20a) and (20b) lies in the presence of the PP adjunct as Theme. These facts indicate that the availability of a post-verbal subject construction is

highly dependent on well-formedness conditions on information structure, such as the Theme-Rheme articulation.

Since an “in situ” subject will necessarily be part of the Rheme (= what is asserted), the only way to thematize a subject in a NSL (under the view defended here) is to use a representation with Subject CLLD, thus re-establishing a predication relation with the “notional” subject. This is why SV order is perceived as less marked than V...S order, on this account:

(19)  $[[DP]_i [TP \ V \ [_{VP} \ pro_i]]$

### ***Predication***

As is well known, all of the Romance NSLs allow VS order even though they vary as to the conditions under which they allow VSO or VOS (and associated readings) (on this topic see the references cited in footnote (1)). I assume that this depends on independent properties of each language regarding the post-verbal field and the mapping between syntax and LF/information structure.

In sum, the theory just sketched has the potential to account in an elegant way for the cluster of properties traditionally associated with the Null Subject Parameter as applied to languages of the rich agreement type. In previous work (Barbosa 1995, 2000, Barbosa, Kato & Duarte 2005), I have argued that there are a number of other – otherwise poorly understood – facts that can be immediately captured under this analysis. These concern (i) a number of asymmetries regarding pre-verbal subject constructions between the Romance NSLs and French/English; (ii) asymmetries between “referential” subjects and “non-referential” quantified subjects which are attested in the NSLs though unattested in French/English. In section 3, I will review some of these asymmetries, focusing on two closely related languages, EP, a consistent NSL, and BP, a partial pro-drop language, but before I do that, I will discuss evidence internal to EP that argues in favor of the approach just sketched.

### **3. Initial Evidence: Clitics in EP**

In EP the position of the clitic with respect to the verb varies according to context. Thus, enclisis is obligatory with most pre-verbal subjects (cf. 21). When the subject

belongs to a subset of quantified expressions, such as bare or negative quantifiers, proclisis is required:

- (21) A Maria viu-o / \*o viu.  
 the Maria saw-HIM / HIM saw  
 ‘Maria saw him’
- (22) Nenhum aluno /alguém o viu  
 no student someone saw HIM  
 ‘No student/ someone saw him’

The following is an overview of the relevant patterns found in root environments:

### 3.1. Brief overview of clitic placement in root clauses

#### ▪ Enclisis:

##### I. Verb initial utterances

- (23) \*O viu /viu-o o João.  
 CL saw/Cl-saw the J.  
 ‘John saw him’

##### II. Definite and specific indefinite subjects

- (24) a. Ele/A Maria viu-o.  
 he/ the Maria saw-Cl  
 ‘He/Maria saw him.’
- b. Alguns estudantes disseram-me que não podiam aparecer.  
 ‘Some students told me that they couldn’t show up’

##### III. Topic-comment configuration: Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) and Topicalization

- (25) a. *CLLD*:  
 Esses livros, dei-os/ \*os dei à Maria.  
 ‘Those books, I gave them to Maria.’
- b. *Topicalization*:  
 Este livro, dou-te/\*te dou ec amanhã.  
 ‘This book, I will give to you tomorrow.’

##### IV. Frame adverbs

- (26) Geralmente vejo-a / \*a vejo de manhã  
 generally see-1-Sg-Cl / \*Cl see-1-SG in morning  
 ‘Usually, I see her in the morning.’

- **Proclisis**

Cl-V order obtains when the following elements precede the verbal complex inside the minimal clause that contains the clitic:

- *Wh*-phrases

(27) Quem           o           viu?  
       who       Cl       saw  
       ‘Who saw him?’

- Nonspecific indefinite QPs:

(28) a. **Subjects:** Alguém/algum aluno o viu.  
 someone/some student him saw

b. **Objects:** Alguma coisa **lhe** disseram **t**, mas não sei o quê.  
 some thing to-him they-said t but not I-know what  
 ‘Something they told him, but I don’t know what’

- Affective operators in the sense of Klima 1964

### I. Negative QPs:

(29) a. **Subjects:** Nenhum aluno se esqueceu do livro  
 No student SE forgot of-the book.  
 ‘No student forgot the book’

b. **Objects:** Nenhum destes livros **te** posso dar **t**.  
None of-these books to you I-can give **t**  
'I can't give you any of these books'

## II. DPs modified by a Focus particle:

(30) a. **Subjects:** Sóo Pedro      o      viu  
                only     the Peter   him   saw  
                ‘Only Peter saw him’

b. **Objects:** Só isto **te** posso dizer **t** agora.  
'Only this can I tell you now'

- Sentential negation and aspectual adverbs in pre-verbal position

(31) a. O João não **a** viu.  
the John not her see  
'John didn't see her'

- b. O Pedro já / nunca **o** viu.  
 the Peter already/ never him saw  
 ‘Peter already/never saw him’

### 3.2 Analysis

I will start by focusing on the contexts of the form *XP-(cl)V(cl)* where *XP* is an argument. Regarding these contexts, two observations are in order. The first one is that the set of expressions that “trigger” proclisis (independently of their status as subjects or objects) coincides with the set of expressions that cannot be Clitic-Left-Dislocated: bare quantifiers, negative QPs, non-specific indefinite QPs (such as *algum* ‘some’ N + Count Noun) and DPs modified by focus operators cannot be doubled by a resumptive clitic, as shown below.

- (32) a. \*Tudo **mo** recusaram.  
 everything me-it refused-3pl  
 b. \*Alguém<sub>i</sub> / algum aluno ela **o** viu, mas não sei quem.  
 someone<sub>i</sub> some student she him saw but not know-1st-Sg who  
 c. \*Nenhuma resposta<sub>i</sub> **ma** deram até hoje.  
 no answer me-it gave-3rd-Pl until today  
 ‘No answer have they given me until now.’  
 d. \*Até o Pedro, **o** vi ontem.  
 even Peter him saw-1st-Sg yesterday

Even though these QPs cannot be CLLDed, they can be fronted leaving a gap in their base position. In this case, proclisis is the only option.

- (33) a. Tudo me recusaram *e<sub>i</sub>*  
 everything me-it refused-3pl  
 ‘I was refused everything.’

b. Alguém<sub>i</sub> / algum aluno    ela   viu  $e_i$ , mas não sei                quem.

someone<sub>i</sub> some student she    saw  $e_i$  but not know-1st-Sg who

‘She saw someone/some student, but I don’t know who.’

c. Nenhuma resposta<sub>i</sub> me    deram     $e_i$     até    hoje.

no            answer me    gave-3rd-Pl  $e_i$     until today

‘No answer have they given me until now.’

d. Até o Pedro<sub>i</sub> vi     $e_i$     ontem.

even Peter    saw-1st-Sg yesterday

‘Yesterday I saw even Peter.’

The second relevant observation is that Enclisis is found with CLLD and Topicalization. *Wh*-fronting and fronting of non-referring expressions require proclisis.

Before I address the issue of clitic placement, I will briefly present my assumptions regarding the syntactic configurations associated with the different mechanisms of constituent fronting in Romance and in EP in particular.

### 3.2.1 Constituent “fronting” in Romance and syntactic configurations

- *Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)*

Cinque 1990 argued that CLLD involves *base-generation* of the dislocated topic in an adjoined position wherefrom it is linked to the clitic pronoun inside the clause. The basis of his argumentation is a systematic comparison with Focus-movement in Italian (see also Rizzi 1997). A number of properties distinguish CLLD from Focus and all of them point to the conclusion that Focus involves movement in the syntax whereas CLLD doesn’t (see also Anagnostopoulou 1997, Dermidache 1992). Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1997 make a similar point for EP: CLLD doesn’t obey subadjacency and doesn’t license parasitic gaps<sup>2</sup>. Based on this evidence, I assume the “classical” analysis of CLLD according to which the Topic-Comment articulation is licensed by “rules of predication” (Chomsky 1977) that require that the topic be base-generated in a position of adjunction to the XP that is

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<sup>2</sup> CLLD is sensitive to strong island effects (see Anagnostopoulou 1997, Dermidache 1992 for an analysis that is compatible with the one proposed in the text and captures this basic fact).

predicated of it – which can be CP or TP (for a different approach, Rizzi 1997 and Cechetto 2000):

(34) [ **DP** ]<sub>I</sub> [ <sub>TP/CP</sub> [ <sub>T'</sub> V<sub>k</sub> **cl**<sub>I</sub> [ ... t<sub>k</sub> ... ]

(35) *CP adjunction*

- a. Este livro, quando é      que o vais                      ler?  
     this book when    is-it that it are-going-2sg to read?
- b. Este livro<sub>I</sub> [ <sub>CP</sub>quando é      que o<sub>I</sub> vais                      ler ]?

(36) *TP adjunction*

- a. Disseram-me que, este livro, o vão                      ler amanhã.  
     they-told-me that this book it will-3pl read tomorrow
- b. Disseram-me que [ <sub>TP</sub>[este livro]<sub>I</sub> [ <sub>TP</sub>o<sub>I</sub> vão ler    amanhã ]]

- *QP fronting*

Cinque 1990 notes that when the fronted object is a bare quantifier (*qualcosa* ‘something’, *qualcuno* ‘someone’, etc. ) though not if it is a quantified NP (*qualche* N’/*alcuni* N’ ‘some N’, *molti* N’ ‘many N’, etc.), the resumptive pronoun may be missing (compare (37) with (38)):

- (37) a. Qualcuno, (lo) troveremo.  
         someone (him) we-will-find
- b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io (la) farò  
         something for sure    I    it will-I-do
- (38) a. Qualche errore, Carlo \*(lo) ha fatto.  
         some error Carlo (it) has made
- b. Alcuni libri, \*(li) ho      comperati.  
         some books (them) I-have bought.

According to Cinque, the presence or absence of the clitic in (37) is not optional and correlates with a difference in the interpretation of the quantifier. If the speaker has something or someone specific in mind, the clitic is required. If the interpretation is ‘something or other’ or ‘someone unspecified’, the clitic is *obligatorily absent*. Cinque proceeds to observe that constructions such as those in (37) — without a resumptive

clitic— are subject to weak islands, contrary to CLLD constructions. This suggests that these constructions involve (successive cyclic) movement of the bare quantifier rather than base-generation, i.e., they are instances of A'-movement. This analysis is illustrated in (39b) below for the example (39a) where the bare QP is nonspecific:

(39) a. Qualcuno, troveremo

someone we will find

b. [ <sub>FP</sub> Qualcuno [ <sub>F'</sub> troveremo t ] ]

Rizzi 1997 observes that the QPs that are incompatible with a resumptive clitic can be focused. However, Cinque's description suggests that these QPs behave differently from the other DPs in that they *do not necessarily need to bear contrastive focus* when extracted by A'-movement.

Vallduví's 1992 work on Catalan reinforces the picture just described. In Catalan, negative quantifiers and certain other quantifiers which are roughly the same class that triggers proclisis in EP must be string adjacent to the verb when fronted. In this, they behave like fronted *Wh*-phrases and differently from CLLDed phrases, which do not need to be string adjacent to V. Consider a typical CLLD construction in Catalan (Vallduví 1992: 127):

(40) [El sou]<sub>1</sub> [a la gent]<sub>2</sub> no l<sub>1</sub> 'hi<sub>2</sub> regalen.

the pay to the people not it to-them give-3Pl

'They don't give the pay to people for free.'

The two fronted constituents can be freely switched around:

(41) [a la gent]<sub>2</sub> [el sou]<sub>1</sub> no l<sub>1</sub> 'hi<sub>2</sub> regalen.

Vallduví shows that if one of the two left-hand phrases is a negative quantifier, the linear order among the phrases is not free anymore (note that in Catalan a negative bare quantifier can be doubled by a clitic while still displaying this restriction):

(42) a. El sou a ningú (no) l'hi regalen.

'They don't give the pay to anyone for free.'

b. \*A ningú el sou (no) l'hi regalen.

Subject negative quantifiers behave alike, as shown by the comparison of examples (43) and (44) below. In (43) subject and object may be switched around freely:



- (43) a. Els dolents l'empresa no els vol  
 the bad-ones the company no them want  
 'The company doesn't want the bad ones'

b. L' empresa els dolents no els vol

When the subject is a negative quantifier, as in the sentences below, left-adjacency to the verbal string is required again:

- (44) a. Els dolents ningú (no) els vol  
 Noone wants the bad ones.'  
 b. \*Ningú els dolens (no) els vol

According to Vallduví this adjacency requirement doesn't affect all QPs, but a subset of them that includes *poques N* ('few N'), *alguna cosa* 'something', *tothom* 'everyone', among others. These latter QPs do not bind a clitic within IP, unlike *ningú* above. Vallduví further observes that fronted *Wh*-phrases are subject to the same adjacency restriction, which applies in matrix as well as embedded questions. In addition, the QPs in question are in complementary distribution with a pre-verbal *wh*-phrase:

- (45) a. Què<sub>i</sub> no regalen t<sub>i</sub> a ningú?  
 what not give 3PL to no-one  
 'What don't they give to anyone for free?'  
 b. \*Què a ningú (no) li regalen?  
 c. \*A ningú què (no) li regalen?

Vallduví observes that this restriction applies both in root and embedded questions and concludes that these QPs and *Wh*-phrases occupy the same position in Catalan. Thus, there is a subset of quantificational expressions that are fronted by A'-movement *without requiring contrastive Focus*. Vallduví refers to these QPs as "quantificational operators" and describes them as being incapable of functioning as "links". A "link phrase" 'points to the file card that it denotes in the file-structured knowledge-store of the hearer and selects it among the sentence participants as the sole point of information entry (Vallduví 1992b:335)'. The expressions that cannot serve as link phrases range over QPs without a lexical restriction, nonspecific indefinites and +affective operators.

To sum up, I conclude that non-referential QPs are extracted by A-bar movement (see

Martins 1994, Raposo 1994, 1997 and Uriagereka 1995 for a similar view) even though they do not need to bear contrastive focus unlike referring expressions:

(47) *QP fronting*:



- *Topicalization*

Unlike most Romance languages, Portuguese has a construction where a definite object DP topic corresponds to a clause internal direct object gap (the following example is adapted from Raposo 1997):

(47) A garrafa de whisky vou comprar *ec* de certeza.  
 the bottle of whisky will-1stSG buy *ec* for sure

Equivalents to (47), without focal stress on the fronted constituent, are out in the Romance languages discussed (cf. Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998). I. Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1997 observe that topicalization in EP has different properties from the Focus-movement construction characteristic of the other Romance languages and is closer to English topicalization. In fact, (47) expresses the Topic-Comment articulation: the *DP essa garrafa de whisky* stands for a discourse referent and the clause is understood as asserting something about it. However, both Raposo 1997 and I. Duarte 1987 note that topicalization in EP has properties that set it apart from CLLD. Unlike CLLD, topicalization licenses parasitic gaps and shows Weak Cross-Over effects. For these reasons, these authors concluded that topicalization involves movement. Barbosa (1996, 2000), and Raposo 1997 suggest that topicalization does not involve movement of the topic from a position within the clause. Raposo 1997, in particular, proposes that what moves is an empty operator, which serves as an open position whose reference is fixed by the topic. The topic may be adjoined to CP or embedded TP (in the latter case, *Op* is a head in Raposo's original proposal). Here I assume this analysis.

(48) *Topicalization*: [DP] [<sub>CP/IP</sub> *Op*<sub>k</sub> [ V t<sub>k</sub> ... ]]

### 3.2.2 Summary

Summing up the results of this sub-section, we have the following three syntactic configurations for the different processes of placing an object in the front of the clause in EP:

(50) A-bar extraction –mostly restricted to non-referring QPs:

$$QP \text{ fronting: } [{}_{CP} \quad \mathbf{QP} [{}_I \quad \mathbf{V} [ \quad \mathbf{t} \quad ]]]$$

▲—————|

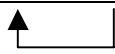
(51) The topic-comment articulation:

$$CLLD: \quad [ \mathbf{DP} ]_I [{}_{TP/CP} [{}_T \quad \mathbf{V}_k \mathbf{cl}_I [ \dots \mathbf{t}_k \dots ]]$$

$$Topicalization: \quad [ \mathbf{DP} ] [{}_{CP/TP} Op_k [ \mathbf{V} \mathbf{t}_k \dots ]]$$

### 3.3. Syntactic configurations and clitic placement

Integrating our results thus far, we get the following two patterns for clitic placement in EP in the different constructions used for placing an object in the front of the clause in root clauses. Pattern A is enclisis: the DP is base-generated in a position of adjunction to CP (or TP iff root clauses do not project up to CP). Pattern B obtains in cases of *wh*-movement and QP-fronting. The latter involve direct movement of the operator to an A-bar Spec position inside CP (the details about the exact landing site or sites are not directly relevant here):

		Pattern	Structure
A	CLLD Topicalization	V-cl	 $[ \mathbf{XP} ] [{}_{CP/TP} \quad \mathbf{V} \dots ]$
B	QP fronting <i>Wh</i> -movement	cl-V	$[{}_{CP} \mathbf{XP}_I \quad \mathbf{V} \mathbf{t}_I ]$

### 3.4. Preverbal subject constructions

The following examples illustrate the two patterns of clitic placement found with subjects in root clauses:

(52) a. A Maria telefonou-lhe.

- the Maria called-him  
 b. Ninguém lhe telefonou.  
 noone him called

Above we observed that the set of expressions that “triggers” proclisis – **independently of their status of subjects or objects** – coincides with the set of expressions that cannot be Clitic Left-Dislocated.

This observation raises the following questions:

- I. Why should there be such a correlation? Why should clitic placement be sensitive to the notion *compatibility with CLLD*?
- II. If pre-verbal subjects move to the canonical Spec-IP position, how can the two patterns be explained?

Our take on the matter is that there are only two options available to preverbal “subjects” in EP: dislocation or A-bar extraction, and no third option, namely A-movement to Spec-TP. A-movement is not sensitive to the referential nature of the DP. If there were A-movement to Spec-TP, as happens in French or English, one should not expect to find a split between referring and non-referring expressions. On the other hand, we know independently that English-type Topicalization doesn’t apply to subjects (Lasnik and Saito 1992). Hence, the hypothesis is that (52) above should be unambiguously analysed as an instance of subject CLLD:

- (53) a. A Maria telefonou-lhe.  
 b. [[A Maria<sub>i</sub> ] [CP/IP (pro) telefonou-lhe (pro) ]]

The DP *a Maria* is base-generated in the front of the clause, *not moved from argument position*, and is licensed by predication via an open position inside the clause, supplied by *pro*, which bears the theta-role assigned by V. In (53b), I leave the issue of the position actually filled by *pro* open (I will return to the matter below). (53) falls under the configuration A above, with XP adjoined to the clausal projection.

When the subject belongs to the set of expressions that cannot serve as discourse topics it can only be fronted by A’-movement, as happens with object quantificational operators. (54a) below is thus analysed as involving A’ movement of the post-verbal subject

to preverbal position:

(54) a. Ninguém lhe telefonou.

b. [<sub>FP</sub> Ninguém [<sub>F'</sub> lhe telefonou *t* ]]

(54b) is the same configuration as A-bar extraction, and falls under configuration B (recall our discussion in section 2 according to which subject extraction is from post-verbal position) <sup>3</sup>.

Once pre-verbal subject constructions are reduced to the syntactic configurations A and B, the pattern of clitic placement becomes considerably simplified. Elsewhere (Barbosa 1996, 2000), I have argued that the following descriptive generalization holds in EP:

(55) *Descriptive generalization (Barbosa 1994, 1996)*

- Proclisis whenever the clitic is preceded by an element with a phonetic matrix within the minimal CP domain (or TP iff CP doesn't project)
- Enclisis everywhere else.

Contexts for proclisis are (i) all the root clauses that fall under configuration B (where XP is overt); (ii) any embedded clause with an overt complementizer (regardless of whether there are adjoined phrases in between C and the verbal complex) <sup>4</sup>; (ii) root clauses where negation or aspectual adverbs precede the verbal cluster (cf. (31)).

Contexts for enclisis are V-initial utterances and all the cases that fall under configuration A where no element with a phonetic matrix precedes the verbal complex

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<sup>3</sup> Note that I am not claiming that the position targetted by non-referring QPs is (always) the same as the one targetted by *wh*-phrases. In EP, a *wh*-phrase may co-occur with a fronted QP (a subject or an object), and when that happens, the *wh*-phrase is higher. In Barbosa 2000, 2001, I examine this issue in detail and I argue that Spec-TP is an A-bar position in the NSLs, so the landing site for the QP in (54b) could be Spec-TP. In the cases in which a *wh*-phrase precedes a fronted QP, the former is in Spec-CP and the latter, in Spec-TP. This claim is not crucial for the argumentation in the text, so I refer the reader to the references cited. It is worth pointing out that this A-bar position should be distinguished from the position targetted by Focus movement in languages like Italian (Belletti 1990, Rizzi 1997) though not in languages like Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998) or Catalan (Vallduví 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Embedded clauses introduced by a complementizer require proclisis:

- (i) Eu duvido que ele a visse / \*visse-a.  
 I doubt that he her see-Past-Subj / \*see-Past-Subj her

within CP. This configuration also includes frame adverbials, which I assume to be adjoined as well (cf. (26)). Schematically, we have the following configurations for all of these cases (in the configurations below, I leave the issue open of whether root clauses are CPs or bare TPs):

(56) *Enclisis*:

- a. CLLD/Topicalization/Frame adverbials                      [ **XP** ]<sub>I</sub> [ <sub>CP/TP</sub>    V ... ]
- b. V-initial utterances:    [ <sub>CP/TP</sub>    V ... ]

(56a,b) meet the structural description for enclisis as formulated in (55). Here I will not dwell on a theory of (56). In Barbosa (1996, 2000), I have developed an account that relied on a ban against spelling out the clitic at the left edge of CP, but one can think of alternative accounts consistent with it (see Martins 1994, Uriagereka 1995, Raposo 2000, Raposo and Uriagereka 2005)<sup>5</sup>. What matters for the present purposes is that the analysis of pre-verbal subjects just sketched plays a key role in the formulation of a simple generalization underlying the rather intricate patterns of clitic placement in EP.

### 3.4 *Summary and Conclusions*

Summing up the results of this section so far, I have argued that the patterns of clitic placement in EP suggest that subjects do not raise to an A-position to the left of the Infl head containing the verb. The real A-position for subjects is to the right of the raised verb. Contrary to appearances, referential pre-verbal “subjects” are CLLDed. The expressions that cannot act as discourse “links” raise to an A'-position in the pre-verbal field.

This hypothesis finds echo in a number of related proposals for other Romance NSLs. On the basis of the Catalan data presented above, Vallduví 1992 reached a rather similar conclusion. He proposed the following structure for Catalan (see also Sola 1992 and Zubizarreta 1998 for Spanish).

(57) [ <sub>IP</sub> XP [ <sub>IP</sub> *wh* \ + *Op* QP [ <sub>I'</sub> [ <sub>I</sub> V ] [ <sub>VP</sub> ] ] ] ]

XP stands for left-detached phrases (in Vallduví's terminology) and Spec-IP is filled

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<sup>5</sup> For alternative approaches, see I. Duarte 1983; Rouveret 1989; Madeira 1992; I. Duarte and Matos 2000; I. Duarte, Matos e Gonçalves 2005.

by either a fronted *Wh*-phrase or a fronted non-referential QP, regardless of its status as subject or object (recall that fronted non-referential QPs and *wh*-phrases are in complementary distribution in Catalan in root as well embedded questions). Vallduví follows previous proposals according to which the thematic (L-related) position for the subject in Catalan is to the right of the raised V (Bonet 1990, Contreras 1991, Sola 1990), so Spec-IP is empty and available for this role as a quantifier-related position. A rather similar structure has been proposed for Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) and Spanish (Contreras 1991, Zubizarreta 1998).

Before I quit this section, I should address one particular example that has been frequently mentioned in the literature as a counter-example to the analysis developed here. The example, originally due to Costa 1998, is the following:

- (58) Ninguém provavelmente vai aparecer.  
 nobody probably is-going to show up  
 ‘Nobody will probably show up.’

Costa 1998 and Costa & I. Duarte 2002 observe that the QP in (58) has a neutral reading when compared to similar examples in Italian, where the QP must bear contrastive focus if followed by a sentential adverb (see Belletti 1990). According to the authors, such neutral reading is not expected if the QP is extracted by A-bar movement. This argument, however, does not take in consideration examples such as (59) where a negative object is fronted to the left of a sentential adverb without requiring a contrastive focus reading either (note that (59) shows that EP is different from Catalan in not requiring adjacency between a fronted QP and inflection (see Barbosa 2001):

- (59) Nada provavelmente te vão dizer (acerca da tua doença).  
 nothing probably to-you will-3pl tell about of-the your illness  
 ‘Nothing will they probably tell you about your illness.’

To my ear, (58) and (59) have the same status (with only one semantic difference, of course: in one case, the fronted QP is an internal argument; in the other, it is an external argument). (59), which clearly doesn’t contain a pre-verbal subject, doesn’t require contrastive focus on the negative QP either. In fact, I do not detect any significant

difference between (59), with a fronted object, and its exact counterpart in (60), where the QP is a subject:

- (60) Nada provavelmente vai ser dito acerca da sua doença.  
nothing probably will be said about of-the your illness  
'Nothing will probably be said about your illness.'

As argued in I. Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1994, 1997, EP doesn't have Focus movement of the Italian type. Thus, I fail to see why (58) is predicted to exhibit contrastive focus under the A-bar movement analysis.

#### **4. Testing the theory: consistent Romance NSLs vs French/English and BP**

In the preceding section I have discussed evidence that suggests that Spec-TP is not the landing site for A-movement in EP or in Catalan. As mentioned, similar claims have been made for Romanian (Dobrovie Sorin 1994) and Spanish (Contreras 1991). Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 introduce evidence from Greek that points in the same direction and Pollock 1998 argued for a similar view for Italian. The literature on Italian is divided in this regard: Moro 1993, Manzini and Savoia 2002 and Longobardi 2000 reach somewhat similar conclusions on different grounds, but the prevailing stand on this issue is the classical A-movement analysis (Poletto 2000, Rizzi 1997, Cardinaletti 1997, 2004). In fact, the topic has been a matter of debate in the Romance literature (for EP, see Costa and I. Duarte 2002; for Italian, Cardinaletti 1997, 2004, and for Spanish, Suñer 2002).

At his point it is worth noting that the papers on Italian that explicitly address this issue and argue in favor of A-movement all end up by having to make somewhat intriguing generalizations regarding subject positions. Thus, Poletto (2000:chap.6) concludes that pre-verbal subjects in the NSLs A-move to the Comp domain. Her arguments come from the distribution of subjects in some Northern Italian dialects where they precede complementizers. In addition to this, two different kinds of A-movement have to be assumed: one kind restricted to apply to negative QPs and another kind applying to non-quantified DPs. In some of these dialects, there is clear indication that negative QPs in pre-verbal position pattern differently from referring QPs (Barbosa 1995, Poletto 2000, Manzini and Savoia 2002). In fact, Tortora (1997) suggests that negative quantifiers target a different



A-position from non-quantified subject DPs in Borgomanerese. Hence, A-movement to pre-verbal position is kept at the cost of the following two assumptions (i) pre-verbal subjects A-move to the Comp domain; (ii) non-referring QPs A-move to a designated position, distinct from the one targeted by other subjects. This raises the question why these two properties should correlate with each other, on the one hand; and why they should cluster together with the Null Subject Property, on the other.

Cardinaletti's 2004 study, based on standard Italian data, posits that, in addition to the thematic post-verbal position inside the VP, there is more than one position for the subject in the pre-verbal field, the higher one is Spec-SubjP and the lower one is Spec,AgrsP. The latter is the projection in which  $\phi$ -features are checked on nominative DPs. SubjP is the projection in which the "subject-of predication" feature is checked; this position is filled by "strong" subjects as well as dative and locative arguments. Again, the question arises of why there appears to be a connection between these specialized positions and the availability of null subjects. In sum, the status and distribution of pre-verbal subjects in the consistent NSLs is a real issue, one that defies explanation under standard assumptions regarding A-movement.

The objections that can be found in the literature against the view just presented are largely based on the observation that SV(O) sentences differ from OVS sentences (i.e., object CLLD) informationally and, in a very restricted set of cases, distributionally. My contention is that there is a bias in this counter-argument. Object CLLD alters the order of the elements as they are projected in the base. Subject CLLD, by contrast, preserves the hierarchical order of the arguments. Hence, it is only natural that it should be perceived as more neutral than object CLLD. A similar point is made by Baker (2003) in his discussion of *Pronominal Argument* languages such as Mohawk:

Phonological and/or pragmatic evidence is sometimes used to tell if an NP is dislocated. For example, dislocated NPs are sometimes set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, and they are sometimes associated with topic or contrastive focus interpretations (see Rice (this volume) on Slave). The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis is committed to there being cases of syntactic dislocation that do not have these nonsyntactic properties, however. NPs in Mohawk, for example, need not be set off intonationally, and they can have any discourse function. I show below that agreed-with objects in Kinande have these phonological

and pragmatic characteristics of dislocation, but agreed-with subjects do not. All this implies that there are natural interconnections between the various components of language, but they are not fully deterministic.

This is why I believe that instead of looking at the properties of object CLLD, one should look at the informational and distributional properties of clear cases of subject CLLD. If it can independently be shown that unambiguous cases of subject CLLD differ from Object CLLD, then the arguments based on the analogy between the two constructions are considerably weakened. In this regard, French and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) provide an excellent test case given that they make productive use of subject dislocation with an overt resumptive (weak) pronoun, as extensively discussed in Duarte (1993, 1995) and Barbosa, Duarte & Kato (2005). In the next section, I will review the most relevant facts.

#### 4.1 *Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and the Null Subject Parameter*

Duarte (1993, 1995) shows that spoken BP is gradually displaying an increase in the use of overt pronominal subjects, even with non-human antecedents. These appear in contexts where a null subject would show up in EP, namely when they are anaphorically related to a highly accessible antecedent.

(61) [A casa]<sub>i</sub> virou um filme quando ela<sub>i</sub> teve de ir abaixo.      BP

the house turned-into a movie when it had to go down

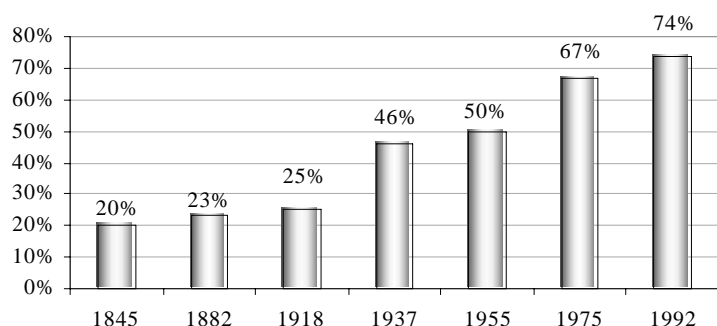
‘The house became a movie when it was demolished.’

Duarte’s data indicate that BP is loosing the *Avoid Pronoun Principle* (Chomsky 1981). Figure 1 (adapted from Duarte 1993: 112) shows that the rate of overt pronominal subjects in the first half of the 19th century is 20%; by the end of the century this rate has increased to 74%<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> The *corpus* analyzed came from popular plays. Duarte (1995) and Duarte (2003) confirm the results obtained for the more recent plays, written in 1992, by examining oral contemporary data produced by college-educated and middle-level educated adult speakers, born in Rio de Janeiro.

Figure 1. OVERT PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS THROUGH SEVEN PERIODS



Duarte (1993, 1995) and Kato (1999) suggest that this change can be related to the impoverishment of subject agreement morphology with respect to the feature person (there still is a number distinction). Also related to this change is the fact that, contrary to what happens in the Romance *pro*-drop languages, there is no preference for a non-coreferential reading of an embedded subject pronoun. Thus, in (62) below, the matrix subject and the pronoun can co-refer.

(62) BP (from Rodrigues 2004: 87):

O João<sub>1</sub> disse                    que ele<sub>1,2</sub> gosta            da Maria                    (BP)  
the João said-3Sg that        he       like-3Sg of.the Maria  
‘João said that he likes Maria’

In EP, by contrast, the overt pronoun is preferably interpreted as referring to an entity other than the matrix subject.

Duarte (1993) shows that the decrease of null subjects in BP affected the first and second persons more than the third. The interpretation and distribution of the third person null subject, however, is highly constrained, a fact that suggests that BP is a partial *pro*-drop language, as extensively discussed in Rodrigues 2004, Modesto 2000, Figueiredo Silva 2000, Ferreira 2000, Kato and Negrão 2000.

Of relevance to the present discussion is Duarte’s observation that this tendency to fill the subject position with pronouns is accompanied by the emergence in speech of subject “doubling” constructions, where a dislocated subject (including pronouns (cf (63c)) is doubled by an overt pronoun, as illustrated below

- (63) a. [A Clarinha]<sub>i</sub> ela<sub>i</sub> cozinha que é uma maravilha. BP  
 the Clarinha she cooks that is a wonder  
 ‘Clarinha, she cooks wonderfully.’
- b. Então [o Instituto de Física]<sub>i</sub> ele<sub>i</sub> manda os piores professores...  
 then the Institute of Physics it sends the worst teachers  
 [Os melhores]<sub>i</sub> eles<sub>i</sub> dão aula no curso de matemática. BP  
 the best they give class in-the course of mathematics  
 ‘Then the Institute of Physics it sends the worst professors...  
 The best, they teach in mathematics.’
- c. Você, cê não me pega! BP  
 you you not me catch  
 ‘You, you can’t catch me!’

This kind of subject “doubling” is very rare in the NSLs. In fact, Duarte 1995 points out that, in a study by Duranti & Ochs 1979, not a single example of such a structure was found in a sample of spoken Italian. On the other hand, it is well known that one of the characteristics of spoken French is the occurrence of CLLDed subjects. Duarte 1995 mentions a study by Barnes 1986, based on a *corpus* of colloquial French, which concludes the following:

- among the dislocation constructions found in the *corpus*, the most frequent of all is Subject LD: 81% of the dislocated structures found;
  - it is not the case that this construction only applies to DPs that are “given” or “old” information; it may be used to introduce new referents and it doesn’t require contrastive focus (cf. (64) below);
  - the structure is not associated with a special intonational contour and a pause may or may not occur between the dislocated DP and the rest of the clause;
  - it may occur in embedded clauses (cf. 65a,b);
  - the dislocated element may be a pronoun (cf. 65b):
- (64) On était obligé, [le mec]<sub>i</sub> il<sub>i</sub> m’a poussée!  
 one was forced, the guy he me has pushed  
 ‘We had to, the guy he pushed me.’ [Barnes, ex. (15), *op.cit.*: 217]

- (65) a. Tu sais, les enormes bottes [comme [Jean-Marc] il a].  
 ‘You know the enormous boots like Jean Marc he has.’  
 [Barnes, ex. (17a), *op.cit.*: 220]
- b. [Moi] je trouve que [la cuisine]<sub>i</sub> c<sub>i</sub>’est l’endroit le plus important d’une maison.  
 me I think that the kitchen it is the place the most important of a house  
 ‘Me I think the kitchen it is the most important place in a house.’ [Barnes, ex. (8),  
*op.cit.*: 213]

Regarding BP, Duarte’s 1995, 1998 studies of oral data show that there has been an increase in the frequency and scope of this construction, particularly in the speech of the younger generations. Subject pronouns may co-refer with syntactically adjacent DPs (cf. (66a-b)) and pronouns (cf. (63c) above), with no focal interpretation, with or without an intervening pause. Like in French, such constructions may also occur in embedded clauses (66a-b):

- (66) a. ...é porque existe uma filosofia [que [o preço]<sub>i</sub> ele<sub>i</sub> tem uma paridade]  
 is because there-is a philosophy that the price it has a parity  
 ‘It’s because there is a general belief that the price it has a parity.’
- b. Então [se [esse sistema de proteção]<sub>i</sub> ele<sub>i</sub> existe] pode ter sido...  
 so if that system of protection it exists] it-could have been  
 ‘So, if that system of protection it exists, it could have been...’

In addition, dislocated DPs are not restricted to definite reference: they can also be indefinite (67a-c):

- (67) a. Eu acho que [um trabalho]<sub>i</sub> ele<sub>i</sub> teria que começar por aí.  
 I think that a job it would-have-to start from there.  
 ‘I think that a job it would have to start from there.’
- b. Eu acho que [qualquer professor]<sub>i</sub> ele<sub>i</sub> deve falar claro e objetivamente.  
 I think that any professor he should talk clearly and objectively  
 ‘I think that any professor he should talk clearly and objectively.’

Curiously, this kind of subject dislocation started to emerge in French at the same time that the language became a non-NSL (Roberts 1993). Using Roberts’s data, Kato 1999

shows that Old French started like BP, doubling the subject with quasi-homophonous strong and weak pronouns when it lost the null subject, replacing the strong ones with dative forms only in Modern French. Thus, the emergence of “double subject” constructions is associated with a change in BP’s setting for the Null Subject Parameter (of the “consistent” kind).

According to the theory that posits that pre-verbal subjects in the NSLs move to Spec-TP, the absence of subject doubling in a NSL can only be explained by appealing to the functional principle Avoid Pronoun suggested in Chomsky 1981. In this respect, the theory of the Null Subject Parameter presented in section 2 fares better since it gives a principled explanation for the facts under discussion. Under this theory, what differentiates a non-NSL from a NSL is the way the EPP is checked: in a NSL, the EPP is checked by [+D/N] Agr, so subjects do not A-move to Spec-TP. (68a) is analyzed as in (68b):

(68) a. *A Clarinha cozinha que é uma maravilha.*

the Clarinha cooks that is a wonder

‘Clarinha cooks wonderfully.’

b. [A Clarinha]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> cozinha<sub>v</sub> [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* que é uma maravilha]]      EP

In (68b), the DP *A Clarinha* is CLLDed. Since, in this perspective, pre-verbal (non-focused) subjects are themselves left dislocated, the only way to derive a sentence such as (69) below in a NSL is by having two base-generated topics, one of them a pronoun, as shown below:

(69) a. *A Clarinha, ela cozinha que é uma maravilha.*

‘Clarinha, she cooks wonderfully.’

b. [A Clarinha] [*ela*]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> cozinha *pro*<sub>i</sub> que ...]      EP

(69b) is not predicted to be ungrammatical – we know that there can be more than one topic per sentence (see Raposo 1997, Rizzi 1997); it is simply redundant. And in fact, this observation captures the right native speaker intuitions: in EP, subject doubling is rare and perceived as somewhat redundant; moreover, it is never attested with pronouns or in embedded environments. In this view, the Avoid Pronoun Principle simply reduces to the preference for not introducing a CLLDed pronoun unless it is required to signal topic

switch or for emphasis/empathy (De Oliveira 2000). This is why the pre-verbal subject pronoun in the EP counterpart to (62) above is preferably interpreted as disjoint in reference from the matrix subject.

In a non-NSL (of the “consistent” kind), the EPP is checked by overt XP movement to Spec-TP. Therefore, the representation of BP’s counterpart to (68a) is as in (70a), and that of (69a) as in (70b):

- (70) a. [<sub>TP</sub> [A Clarinha]<sub>i</sub> cozinha [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* que é uma maravilha]] BP  
 b. [A Clarinha] [<sub>TP</sub> *ela<sub>i</sub>* cozinha [ *t<sub>i</sub>* que ..... ]]

In (70b) the pronoun *ela* is sitting in Spec-TP, so this structure is a regular subject left dislocation construction (not a double topic construction such as EP (69)). This is why “double subject” constructions such as these are more common in BP than in EP.

Now, the relevance of the data just presented for the present discussion is that they can give us a fresh insight into the informational and distributional properties of subject dislocation in Romance as opposed to object dislocation: subject dislocation constructions in BP and colloquial French do not require marked intonation, may occur in embedded clauses and inside relative clauses and are compatible with indefinite DPs. Thus, these tests cannot really be used to detect subject CLLD in a language with null subjects. Object dislocation, by contrast, typically requires marked intonation and has a more limited distribution (in Barnes’s study, 82% of dislocation constructions found in the *corpus* are instances of subject dislocation; this leaves 18% for all the other cases). This calls for a reassessment of the counter-arguments given in the literature against the dislocation analysis, which are exclusively based on a systematic comparison with object dislocation.

Two particular cases in which there are distributional differences between subject CLLD and object CLLD are relative clauses and *wh*-questions. Consider the following examples from French:

- (71) a. L’endroit où, Jean, il va vivre est inoubliable.  
           the place where Jean he will live is unforgettable.  
           ‘The place where John is going to live is unforgettable’  
 b. Je me demande où Jean, il va vivre.  
           I me ask where Jean he will live

‘I wonder where Jean will live.’

- (72) \*L’endroit où ce livre, Jean l’a vendu est inoubliable.

the place where this book Jean it has sold is unforgettable

‘The place where John sold this book is unforgettable.’

- (73) a. ?\* Je me demande qui, au Pape, oserait lui parler ainsi<sup>7</sup>.

I me ask who, to-the Pope, would-dare to-him talk like that

- b. ?Je me demande qui, au Pape, oserait parler ainsi.

‘I wonder who, to the Pope, would talk like that.’

The conditions under which a topic is allowed to intervene between a *wh*-phrase and inflection are complex (on this topic, see I. Duarte 1997, Rizzi 1997, 2004). Thus an indirect object may intervene as long as the clitic is omitted (cf. (73a,b)). However, the speakers that I have consulted agree that (71a,b), are fine when compared to (72) and (73b). Hence, object CLLD is more constrained than subject CLLD.

Similar examples can be constructed in EP:

- (74) Perguntei que livro o Pedro leu.

I-asked which book the Peter read.

‘I asked which book Peter read’

- (75) a. \*Perguntei que livro, à Maria, lhe deram no Natal.

I-asked which book to-the Maria to-her gave-3Pl for Christmas.

[Costa & I. Duarte 2002]

- b. Perguntei que livro, à Maria, eles deram no Natal.

‘I asked which book, to Maria, they gave for Christmas.’

- (76) a. Já li o livro que o João ofereceu à Maria

already read-1stSg the book that the João offered to-the Maria.

‘I already read the book that João offered Maria

- b. \* Já li o livro que, à Maria, lhe ofereceu ontem o João.

already read-1stSg the book that to-the Maria to-her offered yesterday the J.

- c. Já li o livro que, à Maria, ofereceu ontem o João. [I. Duarte 1997]

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<sup>7</sup> These examples are quoted by Rizzi 1997 and attributed to Christopher Laenzlinger.



‘I already read the book that, to Maria, João offered yesterday.’

The contrasts above have been taken as evidence against the dislocation analysis (Costa 1998, Costa & I. Duarte 2002). My point here is that comparable contrasts hold in unambiguous cases of dislocation such as (71-73), so the grammaticality of (74) and (76a) doesn’t by itself constitute proof that the subject is not dislocated<sup>8</sup>. In sum, one should not expect to find an exact parallelism between subject dislocation and object dislocation<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Curiously, Baker (2003) makes this very same observation for Kinande. He proposes to deal with these differences in terms of the notion of *complex predication* (Williams 1980).

<sup>9</sup> Most of the counter-arguments given in Cardinaletti (1997, 2004) rely on a comparison with object dislocation except for the following. Cardinaletti argues that the pronoun *egli* cannot be dislocated (cf. (ii)) even though it appears in pre-verbal subject position (cf. (i)):

- (i) Gianni/Egli ha appoggiato la nostra causa.  
Gianni/he has supported the our cause ‘Gianni has supported our cause.’
- (ii) a. Gianni/\*Egli la nostra causa non l’ha appoggiata.  
Gianni/ he the our cause not it has supported  
b. Gianni/\*Egli chi ha invitato?  
Gianni/ Egli who has invited ‘Who has Gianni/he invited?’

Regarding these examples, it should be pointed out that the form *egli*, arguably a weak pronoun (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), is rare in the spoken language and being replaced by the form *lui*. Here I quote the *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione I*, p. 536: ‘Per la III persona sing. esistono come forme alternative *egli* e *ella* [...] Si tratta però di pronomi rari nella lingua parlata, impiegati prevalentemente in alcuna varietà della lingua scritta ...’ In fact, my Italian informants report that they do not have very clear judgements with *egli*, given that they rarely use it. As a speculation, I leave here a possible account of (iia). I attribute the contrast between (i) and (iia) to the intervening CLLDed object. In (i) the pronoun may form a prosodic domain with the following verbal cluster, but in (iia), the CLLDed object intervenes, thus forming a separate prosodic domain and forcing the pronoun to form one on its own. If *egli* is in some sense ‘weak’, it is natural that it should resist forming a prosodic domain by itself. Regarding (iib), I found comparable examples in a google search on the net. I quote the following, which is taken from an alternative internet bookshop:

- (iii) Ma **egli chi** era? [www.jubaleditore.net](http://www.jubaleditore.net)  
but he who was ‘But who was he?’

What this means, then, is that, in order to test for the two competing theories in hand, one must compare the predictions made by one and the other while controlling for independently attested differences between subject dislocation and object dislocation. In the sub-sections that follow, I will briefly review the arguments given in Barbosa, Kato & Duarte (2005), where a set of predictions made by the analysis presented in section 2 for the Romance NSLs, on the one hand, and English/French, on the other, are examined and compared with those of the *standard analysis*, according to which pre-verbal subjects A-move to Spec-TP. In the process, colloquial BP data are evaluated against the same set of phenomena. First (section 4.2), I will analyze clausal projections that lack subject agreement and yet take an overt subject cross-linguistically; then (section 4.3), I discuss the behavior of indefinite subjects in pre-verbal position; section 4.4 is devoted to emphatic pronouns; finally (section 4.5), I will examine relative clause extraposition from the preverbal subject position.

#### 4.2. Clausal projections that lack subject agreement

In this section I will consider gerund absolute clauses of the kind illustrated below for EP:

(77) Chegando a Maria, vamos embora.

showing-up the Maria, leave-1pl

‘As soon as Mary shows up, we leave.’

Absolute clauses offer an excellent test case for the subject CLLD analysis for two reasons. In the first place, the gerund lacks a complete set of  $\phi$ -features; so, referential *pro* is not available. Since, in principle, subject CLLD relies on doubling by a *referential* null subject, it should not be easily available in these contexts. In addition to this, another factor conspires to prevent CLLD from occurring here, namely the difficulty of left adjunction to absolute clauses in general. The following examples illustrate this with adverb adjunction<sup>10</sup>:

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The existence of examples such as (iii) indicates that the data are unclear. On the other hand, the fact that *egli* and *ella* are becoming rare in the spoken language is indicative, though, since it could very well be related to their resistance to dislocation.

<sup>10</sup> When the Gerund is introduced by a preposition, the order Subject-Gerund is possible:

- (78) Acontecendo de repente      algum      imprevisto, foges imediatamente.  
 happening      all of a sudden something unexpected, run-2nd-Sg immediately  
 ‘If something should happen all of a sudden, you run away immediately.’

- (79) \*De repente acontecendo algum imprevisto, foges imediatamente.

In view of this, the prediction of the CLLD analysis for these cases is that a preverbal subject should not be attested in these environments, and this is exactly what happens. In fact, there is a systematic contrast between the NSLs and the non-NSLs in these contexts. In both cases, an overt subject is licensed even though the verbal forms lack agreement morphology, but the position of the subject with respect to the verb varies: non-NSLs are subject initial and NSLs are V/Aux initial <sup>11</sup>:

- (80) *English: S-Aux/V*

*Your brother having called, we left.*

- (81) *French: S-Aux/V*

*Ton frère ayant téléphoné, je suis parti.*

- (i) Em (a Maria) chegando (a Maria), arrancamos.  
 on (the Maria) arriving (the Maria), we leave.  
 It can independently be shown that, in this case, adjunction is possible:

- (ii) Em de repente acontecendo algum imprevisto, foges.  
 Upon all of a sudden happening something unexpected, you-run

<sup>11</sup> Cardinaletti (1997, 2004) uses this kind of examples (cf. (83)) to argue against the dislocation analysis. Her point is that subject dislocation is impossible in these contexts, so a subject should not be allowed here. Cardinaletti is working on the assumption that the auxiliary verb in (83) has moved to Comp across a preverbal subject. As should be clear from the text, we do not share this assumption. For us, the subject in (83) is a post-verbal subject, with one caveat: it may appear immediately to the right of Aux, contrary to what generally happens in finite clauses in Italian (Rizzi and Roberts 1989). Curiously, Cardinaletti’s data indicate that this position between the Auxiliary in the Gerund and the Participle may be filled by other XPs including datives and locative PPs. I assume that this is some sort of scrambling position.

- (i) a. Essendo a Gianni capitata una grande disgrazia. [From Cardinaletti 2004:123-4]  
 being to Gianni happened a great misfortune  
 b. ?Avendo a Gianni (già) parlato Maria.  
 having to Gianni (already) spoken Maria  
 c. Essendo su Gianni caduta una grande disgrazia.  
 being on Gianni fallen a great misfortune

(82) *Spanish: V-S* [from Hernanz 1991:89]

*Habiendo (el juez) resuelto (el juez) absolver al acusado el juicio concluyó*

having (the judge) decided (the judge) to acquit the accused the trial concluded

*sin incidentes*

without incidents

‘The judge having decided to acquit the accused, the trial came to an end without further incidents.’

(83) *Italian: Aux/V-S* [from Rizzi 1982:128]

*Avendo (tuo fratello) telefonato (tuo fratello) (, io sono rimasto a casa).*

having your brother called I am stayed at home

‘Your brother having called, I stayed at home.’

(84) *EP: V - S*

*Aparecendo a Maria, vamos embora*

Showing up the Maria, we-leave.

‘As soon as Maria shows up, we leave.’

Recall that, according to the analysis presented in section 2, the A-position for subjects in the NSLs is to the right of the inflected verb, so the prediction is that, whenever *both* CLLD and A-bar movement are not readily available, subjects should surface to the right of the inflected verb, if they can occur at all. In the case of the non-NSLs, there is overt movement of the subject, yielding the order Subject-Gerund<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> There are cases in which CLLD is unavailable but A-bar movement is possible. For these cases, the prediction is that only non-referring QPs (or Focalized subjects in languages that have Focus movement) should be allowed in pre-verbal position. In Barbosa (2000), I discuss two such environments – inflected infinitives as complements of epistemic verbs (see also Raposo 1994) and Romanian *sa* subjunctives – and I show that this prediction is confirmed.

One particular case of a finite environment where neither subject drop nor subject CLLD are available is the Italian subjunctive in the second person singular (see Cardinaletti 2004 for discussion). In this case, the pronoun may appear in post-verbal and pre-verbal position. Cardinaletti 2004 shows that pre-verbal *tu* in the subjunctive occupies a different position from the other pronouns, including *egli*. Her evidence is the distribution of pronouns in cases of complementizer deletion. Our interpretation of the facts discussed there is that the other pronouns are CLLDed whereas *tu* isn’t (given that *pro* is unavailable). So, *tu* raises to Spec-TP in this particular case. At present, I have no solution to the question why there is a difference between the

The standard analysis, on the other hand, makes none of these predictions and relies on Aux/V-to-Comp (Rizzi 1982) to account for the word order facts in the NSLs. However, the question remains of why the Null Subject Parameter should correlate with (overt) Aux-to-Comp. So far, I have seen no principled account for why this should be so (but see Belletti 1990). That there is a relation between the Null Subject Property and these word order facts is further confirmed by the occurrence of examples such as (85) below in Old French:

- (85) Ayant ce bon homme fait tout son possible... [Roberts 1994]  
 having this good man done everything his possible  
 ‘This good man having done everything possible.’

Having established that the order Subject-Gerund in an absolute clause is associated with a negative setting for the Null Subject Parameter, we turn to BP. Interestingly, this order is emerging in the modern language, as evidenced by the following examples (cf. Britto, 1994)<sup>13</sup>:

- (86) a. *Você saindo do Brasil*, a gente sente uma falta muito grande dessa parte de verdura.  
 you leaving from-the Brazil, we feel an absence very big of-this part of greens  
 ‘When you leave Brazil, you miss the variety of greens a lot.’  
 b. *O Pedro chegando*, nós saímos.  
 the Peter arriving we leave  
 ‘As soon as Peter arrives, we leave.’

Other clausal projections that lack a full specification for  $\phi$  features and yet license an overt subject are participial absolute clauses and infinitival sentential subjects. As predicted, these display the same word order differences between the NSLs and the non-NSLs detected with gerund absolute clauses:

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subjunctive and the non-finite environments discussed in the text, except for a speculation: it could be that *tu* is fronted by A-bar movement. Ultimately this hypothesis could be tested against examples with non-referring QPs. I leave this problem for future work.

<sup>13</sup> Britto (1994) shows that, though the subject of the gerundive clause can be non-co-referential as in (86b), the occurrences with co-reference are much more productive.

- *Sentential subjects* <sup>14</sup>

(87) *English: S-V*

*For them to visit her* would be a mistake.

(88) *French: S-V [Vinet 1984]*

*La France battre le Brésil*, ce serait inconcevable.

the France to-beat the Brasil that would be inconceivable

‘France beating Brasil would be inconceivable’

(89) *Spanish: V-S [from Piera 1987: 153]*

*Telefonar tú primero* sería un error.

To-call you first would be a mistake

(90) *Catalan: V-S [from Sola 1992: 247]*

*Anar-hi en Joan*, no em sembla pas la solució

to-go-there the J. not to-me seems NEG the solution

(91) *Italian: Aux-S [from Rizzi 1982]*

*L'esser io disposto ad aiutarvi non significa che...*

the to-be I ready to help you not means that

‘Me being ready to help you doesn’t mean that ...’

- *Participial Absolute Clauses*

(92) *English: S-V*

*The boat completely sunk*, only tiny liferafts were visible.

(93) *French: S-V*

*La lettre écrite*, nous avons pu aller nous promener.

‘The letter written, we could go for a walk’

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<sup>14</sup> In this case, EP has an inflected infinitive, so referential *pro* is available and SV order is fine:

- (i) A França bater o Brasil seria inconcebível.  
the France to-beat the Brasil would be inconceivable

‘France beating Brasil would be inconceivable’

(94) *Spanish: V-S [Hernanz 1990:79]*

*Leída la sentencia, el juez se retiró.*

read the sentence, the judge left

‘The sentence read, the judge left.’

(95) *Italian: Aux-S [Belletti 1990:89]*

*Arrivata Maria, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo.*

arrived Maria, G. took a sigh of relief

‘When Maria arrived, G. felt relieved.’

#### 4.3 *Indefinites in pre-verbal position*

In EP, indefinite expressions such as the one illustrated in (96) trigger enclisis:

(96) *Um homem comum engana-se frequentemente.*

a man common mistakes-self frequently

‘The average man often makes mistakes.’

In the analysis presented in section 3, enclisis corresponds to subject CLLD, so (96) is analyzed as follows:

(97) [um homem comum]<sub>i</sub> [ <sub>TP</sub> engana-se *pro*<sub>i</sub> ]

As seen above, indefinites may appear in double subject constructions in BP, a fact that suggests that they can be dislocated; thus, (97) is not problematic. However, if indeed the representation of (96) is as in (97), the following prediction is made: these indefinite subjects that trigger enclisis in EP should show a clear preference for being interpreted with wide scope with respect to a scope bearing element inside the clause. This is so because the relationship that is established between them and the clause is one of predication, so the expectation is that their scope should be frozen. Now consider the following English example:

(98) Look! A flower is growing in every pot!

This example shows that, in English, indefinite subjects may have narrow scope with respect to a scope bearing element inside the clause. The only reasonable interpretation of (98) is the one according to which, for each pot, there is a flower growing in it, that is, the

narrow scope reading. In this particular case, the wide scope reading is absurd: the same flower cannot grow in different pots. This point is important given that, in most cases, it is very hard to exclude the specific reading of the indefinite. In the EP counterpart to (98), the narrow scope reading is unavailable:

- (99) #Olha! Uma flor está a crescer em todos os vasos! [\*distributive reading]  
 look! a flower is at grow in all the pots  
 ‘Look! A flower is growing in every pot!’

(99) is very awkward, given that it tends to be interpreted under the non-distributive reading. Thus, there is a clear contrast between English and Portuguese in this respect, so these facts are in line with the prediction made by the CLLD analysis. Note, in addition, that, as also predicted by this theory, the narrow scope reading is possible when the indefinite is in post-verbal position<sup>15</sup>:

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<sup>15</sup> João Andrade Peres (p.c.) points out that there are cases where a pre-verbal indefinite may be interpreted under the scope of a QP inside the clause:

- (i) a. Entre a uma e as cinco da manhã, uma brigada da GNR esteve a  
 between the one and the five in-the morning a brigade from-the GNR was to  
 vigiar todas as saídas da auto-estrada.  
 watch all the exits of-the highway  
 ‘Between one a.m. and five a.m. a GNR brigade controlled every exit in the highway.’  
 b. Desde a meia-noite de ontem, um agente do SEF controla a bagagem de  
 since the midnight of yesterday an agent from-the SEF controls the luggage of  
 todos os passageiros.  
 all the passengers  
 ‘Since yesterday midnight a SEF agent controls every passenger’s luggage.’

In (ia,b) it is possible to get the distributed reading. It is not clear to me why there is a difference between (99) in text, where the narrow scope reading is clearly disfavored, and these examples. In any event, all speakers agree that, in general, the wide scope reading is the most salient or default reading. We leave a more careful examination of examples such as (i) for future work.

There is one particular context where narrow scope is not difficult to get, namely generic sentences:

- (ii) a. Um polícia controla o trânsito em todos os cruzamentos.  
 ‘A policeman controls the traffic in every crossroad.’  
 b. À chegada ao aeroporto, um funcionário controla a bagagem de todos os passageiros suspeitos.  
 ‘Upon arrival at the airport, a staff member controls the luggage of every suspect passenger.’



(100) Olha! Está a crescer uma flor em todos os vasos! [distributive reading OK]

look! is at grow a flower in all the pots

‘Look! A flower is growing in every pot!’

That the account just given is on the right track is further evidenced by the fact that, when the indefinite in preverbal position is a non-referential QP (of the kind that triggers proclisis) narrow scope becomes possible:

(101)a. Ontem algo de estranho se passou em todas as festas da cidade.

‘Yesterday something strange happened in all the parties of the city’

b. Apenas uma flor se desenvolveu em todos os vasos.

‘Only one bacteria grew in every receptient.’

(101a,b) lack the awkwardness of (99). This is as predicted, given that the QPs in question are assumed to have been moved (by A-bar movement) to the front of the clause.

Similar observations hold in intensional contexts. Consider the following examples:

(102) a. #Um computador foi-me prometido, mas nunca recebi nenhum.

a computer was-to-me promised but never got none

‘A computer was promised to me but I never got one.’

b. Foi-me prometido um computador, mas nunca recebi nenhum.

was-to-me promised a computer but never got none

(102b), with a post-verbal subject, is fine. (102a), however, is odd. I maintain that this is due to the fact that the indefinite falls outside the scope of the intensional verb. Since there is no other available reading for the indefinite besides the intensional one, the result is odd. Note that, whenever the indefinite can have a specific interpretation, the oddity disappears. This is what happens in (103), where *um* ‘one’ is a partitive; hence, specific<sup>16</sup>:

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We assume that an account in terms of a Generic Operator with sentential scope unselectively binding any variable within its scope (see, among others Carlson 1989) will take care of the narrow scope effect found in (iia,b). On the topic of scope interactions with CLLDed objects see Cechetto (2000).

<sup>20</sup> When the sentence contains a modal, the non-specific indefinite may appear in pre-verbal position:

(i) Um computador seria muito útil aqui, mas nunca me deram nenhum.

a computer would be very useful here, but never me they-give none

‘A computer would be very useful here, but I never got one.’

(103) Havia três computadores no escritório. Um foi-me prometido, mas acabei por nunca o receber.

‘There were three computers in the office. One was promised to me, but I never got it.’

(103) is fine because the indefinite can be interpreted outside the scope of the intensional predicate. Now compare (103a) with its French counterpart:

(104) Un ordinateur m’a été promis, mais je n’en ai reçu aucun.

a computer was-to-me promised but never got any

According to my French informants, the pre-verbal indefinite in (104) may be interpreted intensionally. Thus, there is a contrast between French and EP regarding the available interpretations for pre-verbal indefinite subjects. These contrasts between French/English and EP are left unaccounted for under the standard theory, given that it posits that the pre-verbal subject A-moves to Spec-TP in EP as well as in French and English.

Finally, let us turn to BP. According to the theory developed here, BP is predicted to be starting to behave just like French or English, with the subject A-moving to pre-verbal position. In effect, this prediction is borne out, given that (105a,b) are possible:

(105) a. Uma flor está crescendo em todos os vasos. BP

‘A flower is growing in every pot.’

b. Um computador me foi prometido mas até agora não recebi nenhum.

a computer to-me was promised but until now not got none BP

‘A computer was promised to me but I didn’t get one until now.’

#### 4.4. “Emphatic” Pronouns

Under the theory sketched in 2, the real argument position for subjects in the NSLs is to the right of the raised verb. Thus, a sentence such as (106a) below is analyzed as in (107b), where the subject pronoun occupies the *in situ* position (see Ordóñez 1997 and Costa 1998

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We suggest that the conditional in EP contains a hidden modal with sentential scope. As in the case of Generic sentences, where the Gen Operator may have scope over the entire sentence, the variable introduced by the indefinite in (i) may be bound by the modal.

for arguments that the subject occupies the *in situ* position in VSO sentences in Spanish and Portuguese):

(106) a. Hoje lavam eles a louça.

today do they the dishes

b. [<sub>IP</sub> lavam<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> eles t<sub>i</sub> a louça]]

As already mentioned, post-verbal subject pronouns in the NSLs tend to be focused. In fact, (106a) means ‘Today it is them who will do the dishes’. The subject pronoun can also occur after the object. In this case, however, it must bear prosodic stress:

(107) Hoje lavam a louça ELES.

In line with Ordóñez (1997) Costa (1998) and Cardinaletti (1998), I assume that the subject in (107) is inside the VP and that the object has moved out of the VP. The obligatoriness of prosodic stress is due to the fact that the pronoun is the most embedded element in the structure thus being assigned nuclear stress in PF by the Nuclear Stress Rule (Cinque 1993).

Now, if indeed pre-verbal subjects are dislocated, nothing in principle should prevent them from being doubled by a post-verbal pronoun. In other words, the prediction that this theory makes is that the real cases of dislocation with doubling by an overt subject pronoun in a NSL should be doubling by a post-verbal pronoun. And in fact, such examples do exist, as shown below:

(108) A Teresa escreveu **ela** o poema, ninguém a ajudou.

the Teresa wrote she the poem nobody her helped

‘Teresa wrote the poem herself, nobody helped her.’

In (108), the pronoun retains the focused interpretation it normally has and this is why the reading obtained is emphatic. The EP example (108) displays VSO order, but VOS is also possible as in Italian, Catalan and Occitan (see Sola 1992 for an overview). In this case, the pronoun must be stressed as is typically the case with subject pronouns in VOS order (cf. (107)):

(109)a. A Teresa escreveu o poema ELA, ninguém a ajudou. EP

the Teresa wrote she the poem nobody her helped

‘Teresa wrote the poem herself, nobody helped her.’

b. *Spanish [From Sanchez 1993]*

Pedro abrió la puerta EL.

Peter opened the door HE

‘Peter opened the door himself.’

Under the standard theory, these emphatic pronouns have been taken to be non-argument anaphors adjoined to VP (Piera 1987) or, alternatively, the “spell-out” of the trace of the moved subject (Burzio 1986). However, in non-NSLs such as English or French, emphatic pronouns are unattested:

(110) a. \*John wrote the letter HE

b. John wrote the letter himself.

(111) a. \*Jean l’a fait LUI.

Jean it has done him

b. Jean l’a fait lui-même.

Jean it-has done HIM-SELF

‘Jean did it himself.’

Only complex SELF anaphors are allowed in these contexts in English or French. This difference between English/French and Spanish/EP could perhaps be dismissed as simply a matter of lexical choice: anaphoric emphatic pronouns are adjuncts, and whereas English/French chooses a complex SELF anaphor in these cases, EP/Spanish use a pronominal element. However, assuming that this is indeed the case, no difference in the distribution of English ‘himself’ (or French *elle/lui-même*) and the emphatic pronouns should be expected. Yet, there are striking differences between these two kinds of element.

In the first place, if emphatic pronouns are adjuncts, we should expect them to attach to any DP in the sentence, as happens with the English anaphor. However, this is not the case: emphatic pronouns cannot be attached to post-verbal subjects (cf. 112a) nor can they be associated with objects (cf. 112b); in this case, the complex SELF anaphor must be used (cf. 113):

(112) a. \*Apareceu a presidente ELA.

appeared the president SHE

b. \*Falei com a presidente ELA

I-talked to the president SHE

(113) a. Apareceu a presidente ela própria.

appeared the president HERSELF

‘The president herself showed up.’

b. Falei com a presidente ela própria.

I-talked to the president HERSELF

‘I talked to the president herself.’

(112a,b) are evidence that pronouns cannot occur as DP adjuncts. Moreover, (113a,b) show that EP does have a lexical counterpart to English *himself*, namely the complex SELF anaphor *ele/a-próprio/a*.

Another property that distinguishes emphatic pronouns from complex SELF anaphors is that the former, though not the latter, are subject oriented. Thus, the emphatic pronoun in (108-109) can only be anaphorically related with the subject; this restriction does not apply to the complex anaphor in EP (74b) or English (75):

(114) a. [A criança]<sub>i</sub> foi felicitada pel[a professora]<sub>k</sub> ELA<sub>i/\*k</sub>

the child was congratulated by the teacher SHE

b. [A criança]<sub>i</sub> foi felicitada pel[a professora]<sub>k</sub> ela própria<sub>i/k</sub>

the child was congratulated by the teacher herself

(115) The girl was congratulated by [the teacher]<sub>i</sub> herself<sub>i</sub>

Thus, we conclude that emphatic pronouns are not adjunct anaphors. They are rather a particular type of anaphoric pronoun that is lacking in English/French, but present in the Romance NSLs. The existence of subject oriented emphatic pronouns in the NSLs follows naturally from the observation that nothing prevents a dislocated notional subject from being linked by co-reference with a post-verbal pronominal subject, as schematized in (116):

(116) DP<sub>i</sub> [ <sub>IP</sub> V Pron<sub>i</sub> ... ]

In (116) the subject DP is dislocated and "doubled" by the post-verbal pronominal subject.

Under the A-movement analysis, it is not at all clear how emphatic pronouns should be handled. The hypothesis that they are adjuncts runs into the problems noted above, namely their subject orientation and the fact that they are not otherwise attested as DP modifiers. The hypothesis that they are the "spell-out" of a trace is mute as to why there should be a correlation between subject-oriented emphatic pronouns and the Null Subject Property. Note, however, that, since the standard analysis would claim that every SVO structure in a NSL is ambiguous between A-movement and dislocation, it could potentially handle emphatic pronouns in the NSLs in the same way we did. This move would have one cost, though: that of extending the dislocation analysis of pre-verbal subjects to a much broader range of cases. In other words, the standard analysis would have to acknowledge that subject dislocation is not a 'marked' process (see Costa & I. Duarte 2002). None of the examples mentioned require a perceived intonational break between the subject and the rest of the sentence. So the arguments for the need for assuming A-movement to pre-verbal position would be neutralized.

As predicted, Brazilian Portuguese patterns with English/French and not with EP. Thus, (108) above, which is good in EP, is not accepted by many BP native speakers. Kato & Raposo (1996) show that, with the loss of VS order, BP has subject focus *in situ* (cf. 117a) or a reduced cleft (cf. 117b)<sup>17</sup>:

- (117) a. A Teresa, ELA escreveu o poema.  
          the Teresa, SHE that wrote the poem  
      b. A Teresa, ELA que escreveu o poema.  
          the Teresa, SHE that wrote the poem

---

<sup>17</sup> BP can also have, like English and French, the SELF type of focus or the adverbial *sozinha*

- (i) A Teresa escreveu o poema ela mesma; ninguém ajudou  
      the Teresa wrote the poem herself no-one helped  
(ii) A Teresa escreveu o poema sozinha; ninguém ajudou.  
      the Teresa wrote the poem alone no-one helped

#### 4.5 Relative clause extraposition

Our last argument concerns another asymmetry between English/French and the Romance NSLs, namely the impossibility of relative clause extraposition from an indefinite subject in pre-verbal position (Barbosa 1995)<sup>18</sup>. Consider the following contrasts:

- (118) A man arrived that wants to talk to you.  
 (119) Un homme est arrivé qui veut te parler. [French]  
 (120) \*Um homen apareceu que deseja falar contigo. [EP]  
 (122) \*Un hombre apareció que dice que quiere hablar contigo. [Spanish]  
 (123) \*Un home va venir que volia parlar amb tu. [Catalan]  
 (124) \*Un uomo è arrivato che vuole parlarti. [Italian]

Relative clause extraposition is fine in English and French but impossible in the Romance NSLs. These data are a problem for the standard theory. If the structural position and status of the pre-verbal DPs in the two sets of languages are the same, why should there be such a contrast? Under the CLLD analysis these facts follow quite naturally, given that there are significant structural differences in the constructions at stake.

In explaining why left-dislocation is incompatible with relative clause extraposition, I follow Truckenbrodt (1994). For him, relative clause extraposition is a form of movement sensitive to Intonational Phrase (IntP) boundaries. Assuming that dislocated elements are (at least initially) mapped onto an IntP domain that is separate from the IntP domain onto which the rest of the clause is mapped (cf. Nespor and Vogel 1986), the impossibility of relative clause extraposition follows:

(125) a. *Syntax*:

[ um homem que quer falar contigo ]<sub>k</sub> [IP *pro*<sub>k</sub> apareceu]  
 a man that wants to talk to you      showed up

b. *Prosodic Structure*:

[ um homem que quer falar contigo ]IntP apareceu]IntP  
 a man that wants to talk to you      showed up

---

<sup>18</sup> I thank Luigi Rizzi (p.c.) for drawing my attention to these facts.

Now, the interesting observation is that the QPs that are incompatible with left dislocation as well as focalized DPs show a different behavior and do allow relative clause extraposition:

(126) *EP*

a. Nada aconteceu que me agradasse.

'Nothing happened that pleased me'

b. Tantas pessoas apareceram que não tinham bilhete que resolvi deixá-las entrar.

'So many people showed up that didn't have a ticket that I decided to let them in'

(127) *Catalan*:

a. Res (no) en va passar que m'agradés!

'Nothing happened that pleased me

b. MOLTES COSES LLETGES es van dir que no em van agradar!

So many ugly things were said that I didn't like!

(128) *Spanish*:

Muchos estudiantes aparecieron que decían que querían hablar contigo!

'So many students showed up that said that they wanted to talk to you!'

Under the theory proposed here, the QP subjects that cannot be left-dislocated are fronted by A-bar movement, and so are focalized subjects. Thus, in (126-128) the preverbal phrase is not dislocated, so no IntP boundary intervenes between it and the rest of the clause and extraposition is possible. (129) illustrates the structure of these examples:

(129)            [FP [QP/Focused DP] [ *t* ] ]  
                          ▲—————|

This asymmetry between non-referential QP subjects and regular subjects is totally unexplained under the standard analysis.

Now if indeed BP is gradually patterning like English/French, the prediction is that it should allow relative clause extraposition. In fact, the following examples are accepted as fine by speakers of this variety:

(130) Um homem tá aí fora, que quer falar com você.

a man is outside that wants speak with you



‘A man is outside that wants to talk to you.’

(131) Um menino apareceu aqui outro dia, que queria limpar o quintal.

a boy appeared here other day that wanted to clean the yard

‘A boy appeared here the other day that wanted to clean the yard’

(132) Uma carta chegou dos Estados Unidos, que avisava do envio dos livros.

a letter arrived from the US that informed of the postage of-the books

‘A letter arrived from the US that informed about the books postage.’

#### 4.6 Summary and conclusions

Summing up the results of these section, I have argued that pre-verbal “subjects” in the NSLs have syntactic properties that distinguish them from pre-verbal subjects in the non-NSLs and in a partial *pro*-drop language such as BP. These properties can be captured once we assume that there is no overt A-movement of argumental subjects to Spec-TP in the consistent NSLs. In other words, the A-position for subjects is to the right of the raised verb:

(133) [ <sub>TP</sub> [ <sub>T</sub> V ] [ <sub>t</sub> **subject** ] ]

Apparent “pre-verbal subject” constructions are instantiations of independently attested mechanisms for argument fronting, CLLD, or, in the case of non-referential QPs, A-bar extraction.

A close inspection of the pre-verbal field in BP as opposed to EP reinforces this picture. In EP, the adverb *sempre*, ‘always’, in its reading as an adverb of quantification, generally follows the verb when the verb form is in the present tense even though it may precede it when the verb is in the preterite:

(134) a. Ele esquece-se **sempre** do guarda-chuva. EP

she forgets-SE always of-the umbrella

b. \*Ele **sempre** se esquece do guarda chuva.

‘She always forgets her umbrella.’

(135) a. O João esqueceu-se **sempre** do dia dos anos da mãe. EP

the J. forgot-SE always of-the day of-the birthday of-the mother

b. O João **sempre** se esqueceu do dia dos anos da mãe.

‘John always forgot his mother’s birthday.’

In BP, by contrast, *sempre* invariably precedes the verb:

(136) a. As limitações da vida sempre estão nos ensinando algo. PB

the limitations of-the life always are us teaching something

‘Life limitations always teach us something’

b. Eu sempre gostei de viver perigosamente.

I always liked of to-live dangerously

In the BP examples (136a,b), the subject precedes the adverb *sempre*. However, the order Adverb-Subject is also possible:

(137) Sempre eu gostei de viver perigosamente.

always I liked of to-live dangerously

In EP, however, this order is not possible: the adverb must follow the subject:

(138) a. Eu sempre gostei de viver perigosamente. EP

b. \*Sempre eu gostei de viver perigosamente.

This difference is in conformity with our hypothesis: in (138) the subject is adjoined to the clausal projection introduced by *sempre*. In the BP example (137), the subject is contained within the clausal projection, to the right of *sempre*.

Figueiredo Silva 2000, Kato 2000, Kato & Tarallo 2003 show that one of the properties that is being lost in BP *in tandem* with the emergence of a more constrained kind of subject drop is “free” inversion. Post-verbal subject constructions are being lost and becoming restricted to unaccusatives or presentational focus. At the same time, third person (non-agreeing) constructions are emerging.

(139) *Transitives [from Kato 2000]*

a. \*Comeu o bolo o João BP

ate the cake the John

b. \*Comeu o João o bolo

(140) *Unergatives [from Figueiredo Silva 1996]:*

\*Estava tossindo um cara atrás de mim

Was coughing a guy behind of me

(141) *Unaccusatives* [from Kato 2000]

- |                          |                                   |      |     |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------|-----|
| a. Chegou                | uns ovos                          | ✓ BP | *EP |
| arrived-3Sg              | some eggs                         |      |     |
| 'Some eggs have arrived' |                                   |      |     |
| b. Tinha                 | chegado muitas cartas esta manhã  | ✓ BP | *EP |
| had-3Sg                  | arrived many letters this morning |      |     |

(142) Il est arrivé plusieurs de lettres.

- it are arrived many of letters  
'There arrived many letters.'

(143) [ [T V-Agr ] [sv *t* **subject** ] ]

## 5. On *pro*

Some of the authors who espouse this view (Pollock 1997, Kato 1999, Platzack 2004) dispense with referential *pro* altogether: for them, affix-like Agr bears the subject theta-role by being linked to a trace inside the V/vP. The problem I see with this take on the matter is

that it doesn't easily handle the cases in which the subject argument is lexical. If agreement inflection is an incorporated pronoun which is based generated in argument position and subsequently incorporated to T, it is not at all clear how (143) with the subject lexical is derived. For this reason, I adopt the view that, whenever the subject is silent, there is a phonologically null argument in the representation. So far, I have been assuming that the null subject doesn't raise, but I have not presented any evidence in favor or against this view. I turn to this issue next.

### 5.1. *Pre or post-verbal pro?*

Most of the papers that have addressed the issue of the position filled by referential *pro* argue that it sits in Spec-TP. In this section, I will examine the arguments given in Cardinaletti (1997). Cardinaletti observes that in the Central Italian dialect spoken around Ancona, 3pl agreement may fail with post-verbal, but not with preverbal subjects:

(144) a. Questo, lo fa sempre i bambini.

This, it does-3sg always the children.

b. \*Questo, i bambini lo fa sempre.

This, the children it does-3sg always.

c. Questo, i bambini lo fanno sempre.

This, the children it do-3pl always

'The children always do this.'

A 3pl null subject cannot appear with the 3sg verb:

(145) a. \*Questo, lo fa sempre.

This, it does(3sg) always

(impossible with the 3pl interpretation of the subject)

b. Questo, lo fanno sempre.

This, it do-3pl always

'They always do this.'

The fact that *pro* patterns with a pre-verbal subject in requiring number agreement is taken as evidence that *pro* must be pre-verbal.

In our view, there is an alternative explanation for these facts that doesn't depend on the position filled by *pro*. If we are right in claiming that pre-verbal subjects are dislocated and doubled by a resumptive null subject, then both (144c) and (145b) contain a *pro* in their representation. Assuming that referential *pro* requires a full set of  $\phi$ -features, it follows that number agreement is required *both* in (144c) and (145b). (144a), on the other hand, doesn't contain a *pro* in its representation, so all that is required is that the formal features of the post-verbal subject match the  $\phi$ -features in T. By hypothesis, in this dialect, number morphology on V is not required when the post-verbal subject is fully specified for number. Thus, in this view, the agreement patterns found follow from the requirement that *pro* be associated with a full set of  $\phi$ -features and not from the position filled by *pro*.

The second argument given in Cardinaletti 1997 concerns the pragmatic conditions in which a null subject is used, which are closer to those of a pre-verbal lexical subject (old information) than to those of a postverbal lexical subject (new information). In effect, as we have seen, postverbal pronouns tend to be *foci*; a null subject, by contrast, is anaphoric. Cardinaletti quotes the following examples originally due to Burzio 1986:

(146) a. Io sono alla festa.

I am at-the party

b. Sono alla festa.

am at-the party

(147) a. Ci sono io alla festa.

there am I at-the party

'Here am I at the party.'

b. \*Ci sono alla festa.

c. \*Io ci sono alla festa.

(146a,b) are fine. (147a), with presentational 'ci' (roughly, the counterpart to English expletive 'there'), contrasts with (147b,c), which are judged as bad. If *pro* can only occur in preverbal subject position, then the ungrammaticality of (147b) is assimilated to that of (147c).

One fact that is not considered in Cardinaletti's argument, is that (147b,c) are bad *only* when the intended reading is one with presentational focus on the subject. Thus, the

following dialogues are reported to be fine ((148b) is actually taken from the *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione I:112*):

(148) a. Ci sei?                Si, (io) ci sono.

‘Are you there? Yes I am’.

b. C’è Maria?    Non c’è.

‘Is Maria there? No, she isn’t.’

The dialogue in (148a) is likely to be uttered in a telephone conversation, when one of the participants in the conversation wants to make sure that the person on the other end of the line is still there. In view of the grammaticality of these examples, I take Cardinaletti’s point to mean that neither a null subject nor a pre-verbal subject can be presentational focus. These two facts are not surprising given that *pro* cannot be focused and a pre-verbal subject is, under our view, dislocated, hence a topic licensed by predication. Since topichood is incompatible with presentational focus, (147c) is not appropriate as a presentational focus construction. This doesn’t necessarily mean, however, that the pre-verbal subject and *pro* occupy the same position. In fact, there are cases in which a pre-verbal pronoun is not allowed, but a null subject or a post-verbal pronoun are fine. A case in point are certain control structures of the kind illustrated below for EP:

(149) a. Eu convenci as crianças a [falarem com a professora].

I    convinced the children to talk-3pl with the teacher

‘I convinced the children to talk to their teacher.’

b. Eu convenci    as    crianças a [falarem elas com a professora].

I    convinced the children to talk-3pl they with the teacher

‘I convinced the children to talk to their teacher themselves’

c. \*Eu convenci as crianças a        [elas falarem com a professora].

I    convinced the children to they talk-3pl with the teacher

(149a) contains an object control verb and an infinitival complement. The embedded verb is an inflected infinitive, so the subject of the infinitive is *pro*, not PRO. (149b) contains an overt pronoun in post-verbal position. In both cases, the embedded subject is controlled by the matrix object. (149a) has a neutral reading; (149b) has the emphatic reading characteristic of post-verbal pronouns (cf. the discussion on section 4.4 on

“emphatic” pronouns). (149c), however, is ungrammatical. Thus, in this case, *pro* does not have the same distribution as pre-verbal subjects.

Another piece of evidence mentioned in favor of preverbal *pro* is the distribution of floating *tutti*. Consider the following examples:

(150) a. Tutti i soldati sono andati via.

all the soldiers are gone away

b. I soldati sono tutti andati via.

the soldiers are all gone away

c. Sono andati via tutti i soldati.

are gone away all the soldiers

d.\* Sono tutti andati via i soldati.

are all gone away the soldiers

e. Sono tutti andati via.

are all gone away

The ungrammaticality of (150d) when compared to (150b) and (150e) appears to indicate that *pro* must be pre-verbal. The relevant contrast is that between (150d) and (150e). This is so because the parallelism between (150b) and (150e) follows under the analysis of pre-verbal subjects defended here; according to this analysis, the DP *I soldati* in (150b) is assumed to be dislocated and doubled by a null subject; consequently, under this theory, both (150b) and (150e) contain a null subject in their representation, so both are expected to pattern alike, as in fact they do. Thus, the question that arises is: can the contrast between (150d) and (150e) be taken as evidence that *pro* is pre-verbal?

In order to answer this question, we will consider the following paradigm noted by Kayne 1975: 16 for French:

(151) a. Elle a lu tous ces livres.

she has read all these books

‘She has read all these books’

b. \*Elle a tous lu ces livres.

she has all read these books

(152) a. Il les a lus tous.

- he them has read all
- b. Il les a tous lus.
- he them has all read

(152a,b) show that *tous* (the French equivalent to non-arbitrary *tutti*) is compatible with an object clitic. Both positions – immediately following or preceding the main verb – are available for *tous* when linked to a clitic. (151b) shows that *tous* cannot intervene between the auxiliary and the verb when it is linked to a lexical object, a restriction similar to that found in (150d).

These examples show that there is a restriction on the stranding of *tous/tutti* with postverbal DPs independent of their status as objects or subjects. But this is tangential to the issue of the location of *pro*. Concentrating on the French examples (152a,b), it is uncontroversial that the argument position linked to an object clitic (be it a trace or a pronominal category) is to the right of T. Yet, both positions are fine for *tous* ((152a) is in fact more marked than (152b), which is perfect). Thus, French *tous* is compatible with an empty category located to the right of T. By parity of reasoning, the same should be true of its Italian counterpart, *tutti*. Hence, the argument doesn't really show that *pro* is pre-verbal. If anything, it shows that *pro* patterns with the empty categories associated with pronominal clitics.

Besides the distribution of floating *tous/tutti*, null subjects and pronominal clitics share another feature in common: they cannot be new information and must refer to a contextually salient discourse referent. In this respect, pronominal clitics differ from non-clitic pronouns in the same way that a null subject differs from an overt pronominal subject:

(152) a. Jean la voit.

Jean her sees

b. Jean voit ELLE. [Cardinaletti and Starke 1999]

Jean sees her

According to Cardinaletti and Starke 1996, (152a) can only be used to refer to an entity prominent in discourse; (152b), by contrast, can be used ostensively and introduce a new referent in discourse. Thus, it is plausible that subject *pro* has a status that is similar to



*ecs* associated with object clitics, with the set of  $\phi$ -features in T being the counterpart to the pronominal object clitic. This will be, in essence, our take on the matter.

In general, pronominal clitics must c-command the argument position they are associated with. Extending this observation to *pro*, we suggest that it too must be c-commanded by Agr (the set of  $\phi$ -features) in T. In other words, it is located to the right of T. We ended last section with the hypothesis that consistent subject drop is intimately connected with the availability of (143), repeated here as (153), so the next logical step is to relate the configuration in (153) to the occurrence of an empty category as subject; in (153b) *pro* is c-commanded by Agr (the set of  $\phi$ -features in T):

(153) a. [ [T V-Agr ] [SV ... **lexical subject** ... ] ]

b. [ [T V-Agr ] [SV ... **ec** ... ] ]

(153a,b) are in conformity with the version of Holmberg's hypothesis A presented in section 2. Recall that the basic insight was that agreement morphology in the NSLs is [+D/N] and hence capable of satisfying the EPP under incorporation with T. In so much as Agr is nominal and has a full set of  $\phi$ -features, it can be linked to an empty category in argument position.

As pointed out by Holmberg 2005 this approach can only be reconciled with Chomsky's (1995, 2000, 2001) system under the assumption that the  $\phi$ -features in T are interpretable in the NSLs. However, this assumption is problematic in the cases in which the subject argument is lexical (153a). In (153a) the  $\phi$ -features in T are redundant if interpretable<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, the status of *pro* is still unclear. In the next section, I will propose a possible solution to these questions.

## 5.2 *pro* as $\phi^{min/max}$

In order to answer the questions raised in the previous section, I will explore Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004a,b) theory according to which both interpretable and uninterpretable features come as valued and unvalued. I propose that the  $\phi$ -features in Tns in consistent NSLs are uninterpretable and valued. In addition, I suggest that T with valued  $\phi$ -features

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<sup>19</sup> I thank Halldór Sigurdsson for pointing this out to me.

doesn't have an EPP feature; i.e. it doesn't require pied-piping of the features of the goal. Now consider the abstract structure in (154), where the subject is lexical:

$$(154) \quad [ \quad [ {}_T \text{ Tns}_{\text{Pers:a, Num:b}} ] [ {}_{V/vP} \quad \mathbf{DP}_{\text{Pers:a, Num:b} / \text{Case} [ \quad ] } ] ]$$

In this configuration, the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features in T act as a probe and find as its goal the interpretable  $\phi$ -features on the subject DP. Tns's uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features delete under Match. The uninterpretable Case feature of the subject is valued and deletes<sup>20</sup>.

In dealing with the equivalent of (154) with a null subject, I will adopt the leading ideas of Roberts's (2006) theory of cliticization in Romance. Roberts (2006) adopts Déchaïne & Wiltschko (2002:428-31)'s terminology in labelling Romance clitics as  $\phi^{\text{min/max}}$ , rather than  $D^{\text{min/max}}$ . He follows Chomsky's (2000, 2001) *Agree* based system according to which the label of (active, transitive)  $v^*$  contains  $\phi$ -features. Roberts suggests that, since  $v^*$ 's  $\phi$ -features are unvalued versions of the very  $\phi$ -features that make up the clitic, the clitic's label is not distinct from  $v^*$ 's. More precisely, the clitic's features form a proper subset of  $v^*$ 's features. Thus the clitic can adjoin to  $v^*$  and form a derived minimal head. Roberts's general theory of clitic-incorporation has the following general consequence:

(155) Incorporation can take place only where the features of the incorporee are properly included in those of the incorporation host.

For Roberts, the trigger for cliticization is *Agree*. The following represents the *Agree* relation in cases of clitic-incorporation (Roberts assumes that the defective goal,  $\phi^{\text{min}}$ , lacks Case):

(156) a. Trigger for *Agree*:

$$v^*[[\text{Pers:}\_\_\_], [\text{Num:}\_\_\_]] \quad \phi [\text{Pers:a, Num:b}]$$

b. Outcome of *Agree*:

$$v^*[\mathbf{Pers:a, Num:b}] \quad (\phi [\text{Pers:a, Num:b}])$$

---

<sup>20</sup> In Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004) system, nominative Case on the subject is uninterpretable unvalued T on the DP, probed by interpretable (unvalued) T; so, instead of assuming that it is the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features in T that act as a Probe, one could posit that the trigger for *Agree* is T itself, as in Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004) theory.

Here  $v$ 's [Pers:a, Num:b] features are valued as a consequence of Agree of  $\phi^{\min}$  with  $v^{*\min}$ . Roberts proposes that, given that copying the features of the goal exhausts the content of the goal (cf. (155)), the operation is not distinguishable from the copying involved in movement:

In the case of incorporation, then, Agree and Move are formally indistinguishable. This means that we can think of the deletion of the copies of the features of the goal in terms of chain-reduction, i.e. the deletion of all identical copies in a dependency except the highest one (see Nunes (2004:22f.)). This generally does not apply to Agree, since the content of the goal is not exhausted by Match, and so the goal does not constitute an identical copy of the copied feature bundle. But, precisely in the case of incorporation, this is what happens. For this reason we see the PF effect of movement, with the  $\phi$ -features realised on the probe and the copy deleted. [...] So, clitic-incorporation is a way for minimal (as well as minimal and maximal) categories to satisfy Agree which gives the effect of movement.

An important consequence of Roberts's proposal is that cliticization, since it is triggered purely by Agree where (155) holds, is incompatible with an EPP feature on the probe. The following is a corollary of Roberts' account of cliticization:

(156) A probe  $P$  can act as an incorporation host only if it lacks an EPP feature.

Above I have suggested that  $T$  with valued  $\phi$ -features lacks EPP. Hence  $T$  qualifies as an incorporation host. Assume that  $\phi^{\min/\max}$  is the subject argument:

(157) [ [ $T$  Tns<sub>[Pers:a, Num:b]</sub>] [ $V/vP$   **$\phi$** <sup>min/max</sup><sub>[Pers:a, Num:b]</sub>]]

$T$ 's uninterpretable and valued  $\phi$ -features act as probe, triggering Agree with  $\phi^{\min/\max}$ . Since, in this case, the content of the Goal is exhausted by Match, chain reduction applies in the phonological component, yielding the effects of movement:  $\phi^{\min/\max}$  is stripped of its phonological features, yielding a null subject:

(158) [ [ $T$  Tns<sub>[Pers:a, Num:b]</sub>]] [ $V/vP$   ~~**$\phi$**~~ <sup>min/max</sup><sub>[Pers:a, Num:b]</sub>]]]

As far as I can see, nothing prevents deletion of the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -set in  $T$  in the semantic component, with the foot of the chain being the relevant object for interpretation.

If this account is on the right track, then *pro* is, after all, a pronominal stripped of phonetic content, as suggested by Holmberg (2005).

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented evidence that reinforces previous proposals that there is no EPP feature driven subject movement to pre-verbal position in the Romance consistent NSLs. I have claimed that this property distinguishes a consistent NSL such as EP not only from non-NSLs (French or English) but also from a closely related partial *pro*-drop language such as BP. In line with a long tradition of research on the topic, I have attributed the absence of EPP feature driven XP movement to Spec-TP to properties of “rich” agreement morphology, and I have developed an analysis of this phenomenon within the *Agree* based framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2005), Pesetsky and Torrego (2004a,b) and Roberts 2006. In this analysis, *pro* is the outcome of the process of chain-reduction (Nunes 1995) affecting a defective pronominal category. Thus, even though the results of this paper favor a version of Holmberg’s (2005) hypothesis A for the consistent NSLs, they are in conformity with Holmberg’s conjecture that *pro* as a minimally specified nominal can be dispensed with, at least in this language type. Another consequence of this paper concerns partial *pro*-drop. The analysis of *pro* proposed here for consistent NSLs doesn’t apply to BP. In fact, our conclusion that subjects raise in BP may be seen as indirect confirmation of Holmberg’s findings regarding null subjects in Finnish, where there is clear evidence for raising. Consequently, a major result of this paper is that the null subject found in consistent NSLs is of a different kind from that found in partial *pro*-drop languages, such as BP or Finnish.

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